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THE MORPHOSYNTAX OF UNA IN
RELATION TO DISCOURSE STRUCTURE

A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

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PREFACE

This study is based upon a M.A. Linguistics thesis written by the author at The University of Texas at Arlington. This revision and update represents a continuing investigation of the Una language. As such it is still only the beginning of fully explicating the intricacies of this non-Austronesian language of the Central New Guinea Macro Phylum.

In many ways this linguistic analysis forms only a part of a continuing research of the Una people, their worldview and culture (Louwerse 1987c, 1988b). We began our study of the Una language and culture after arrival in the village of Langda on June 22, 1973 and establishment of friendly contacts with this not-previously-contacted mountain tribe, and have continued field work to September 1984 with a total of 99 months actually spent in the language area.

Several different sources of data have been used. Probably the most important source is fluency gained by constant use of the Central Ey river valley Una dialect and familiarity with the three other Una dialects during most of my eleven years of residence in the area. The narrower base for the study is a collection of transcribed recorded texts, including folk tales, myths, expositions of local cultural activities and narratives of events both recent and long ago. In general, every major point in the description rests on data included in the filed corpus.

I wish first of all to express my appreciation for the patience and generosity of the approximately 3500 Una people who have taught my wife and me the Una language and culture. Thereby they broadened our horizons significantly. A few of those deserve special mention. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Niykowdeymus Balyo, Siylas Malyo and Karba Nabyal, all approximately 16 to 30 years of age and monolingual in the beginning of our research. The literacy program (Louwerse 1978f) which was started in the vernacular in 1975 resulted in different degrees of literalness of these language teachers. They, together with the other 150 men, women and children of the village of Langda, and the other residents of the Una language regions have played a very large part in helping us to learn their language. From the beginning they have been involved in translation projects of educational literature and the Una Bible (Louwerse 1979, 1980a-c, 1983b, 1984a, b, 1986d, h, 1987a, 1988a) and ethnomusicology (Louwerse 1985i, j). Without them this research could not have been done.

All research has been conducted under the auspices of the Mission of the Netherlands Reformed Congregations (NRS) to whom I am grateful for a grant for study and research.

I wish to express my gratitude to my supervising committee, at The University of Texas at Arlington Drs R.E. Longacre, D. Burquest, and E.W. Deibler Jr, for their personal interest, patience and enthusiasm in trying to teach me the principles of

linguistic research and writing with accuracy and clarity. The helpful discussions concerning many aspects of the grammar with Summer Institute of Linguistics Drs G.L. Huttar, M. Ray and Professor M. Mayers, are due special appreciation. Their influence will undoubtedly be reflected in any worthwhile results of this research.

Most especially I owe thanks to my wife Janny for her constant dedicated assistance during our ministry in Irian Jaya and for moral support during the research and preparation of this book.

Finally, above all I am grateful to Him Who is the ultimate Source of all wisdom and knowledge for the opportunity to serve the people of Irian Jaya with my Una brothers and sisters. The intricate patterns of structure in Una show to me something of the inexhaustible wonderful riches of His handiwork.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	Actor	exh	exhaustive
ABL	Ablative	F	father
Ad	Adjunct	fut	future
Adj	Adjective	GEN	Genitive
Adv	Adverb	Gen	Gender
ALL	Allative	H	Husband
alt	alternative(s)	HC	Hyperclass
Alv	Alveolar	hort	hortative
Ant	Anticipatory	hyp	hypothetical
apt	aptative	Imp	Imperative
A-Pal	Alveo-Palatal	Impers	Impersonal
Asp	Aspect	incho	inchoative
avol	avolitional	incomp	incomplete
B	Brother	Infin	Infinitive
BEN	Benefactive	Inst	Instrument
Ben	Benefactee	INST	Instrumental
Bil	Bilabial	Intr	Interrogative
C	Consonant	It	Item
caus	causative	Lim	Limitation
cc	coord.conjunction	Lit	Literally
Cl	Clause	Lk	Link
CM	Close-knit-Modif.	Loc	Locative
cont	continuous	Lzd	Labialized
Coor Cx	Coor. Complex	M	Mother
d	daughter	Man	Manner
DAT	Dative	Mar	Margin
dep	dependent	Mkr	Marker
des	desiderative	mom	momentaneous
desc	descriptive	N	Noun
Dim	Diminutive	Neg	Negative
Disc	Discourse	NlZR	Nominalizer
D.O.	Direct Object	Nmrl	Numeral
dur	durative	NOM	Nominative
emph	emphatic	Nuc	Nucleus
ERG	Ergative	Num	Number
Excl	Exclusive	PE	Pred. Enclitic
Exclm	Exclamation	()P	Phrase

Per	Person	Sent	Sentence
perf	perfective	sg	singular
pl	plural	simulf	simulfactive
pluperf	pluperfect	simult	simultaneous
Plzr	Pluralizer	Spec	Specificity
pr	present	Spcfr	Specifier
Pre	Prefix	St	Stem
Prv	Preview	Sta	Statement
Pred	Predicate	Suf	Suffix
Pro	Pronoun	Sup	Superlative
Proh	Prohibition	Sz	Size
PropN	Proper Noun	Tty	Transitivity
Ps	Possessive	Tm	Time
pst	past	Ts	Tense
Q	Question	U	Undergoer
Qual	Quality	V	Verb / Vowel
Quan	Quantity	Vblz	Verbalizer
Quantif	Quantifier	Vc	Voice
R	Reduplication	vd	voiced
rec	reciprocal	Vel	Velar
REF	Referential	vl	voiceless
REFL	Reflexive	VOC	Vocative
Reit	Reiterate	W	Word / Wife
Rep	Repetitive	3sg	third person singular
Rt	Root	1dl	first person dual
S	Subject/Sister	2pl	second person plural
s	son		
Sc	Scope		

LIST OF SYMBOLS

+	obligatory occurrence
±	optional occurrence
+/-	obligatory under specified conditions, otherwise obligatorily absent
~	variant, usually conditioned by the phonology
-	used following a prefix, preceding a suffix and both preceding and following an infix; if in the cohesion cell of a tagmeme, it indicates no specific cohesion features
< >	class symbol enclosing the member of a one-member class
()	encloses the basic form of a morpheme

//	encloses phonemically written data in contrast to phonetically written data
()	obligatory occurrence in well defined, regular environments
[]	encloses phonetically written data in contrast to phonemically written data
#	number
Ø	empty, or zero
[[]]	a class which doesn't occur in the data, but which by analogy is expected to occur
- <i>dob</i> ---> / -n	- <i>dob</i> - occurs before -n
-r- ---> / b-	-r- occurs following b
cohesion symbol >	in the cohesion cell showing that a specific class or class member governs the occurrence of a tagmeme on the same or different level, or the occurrence of some manifesting agreeing class member of a tagmeme on some level
> cohesion symbol	in the cohesion cell of the governed element
> cohesion symbol >	in cohesion cell showing mutual agreement
/	alternates with
<R>	repeatedly/again and again

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 General introduction

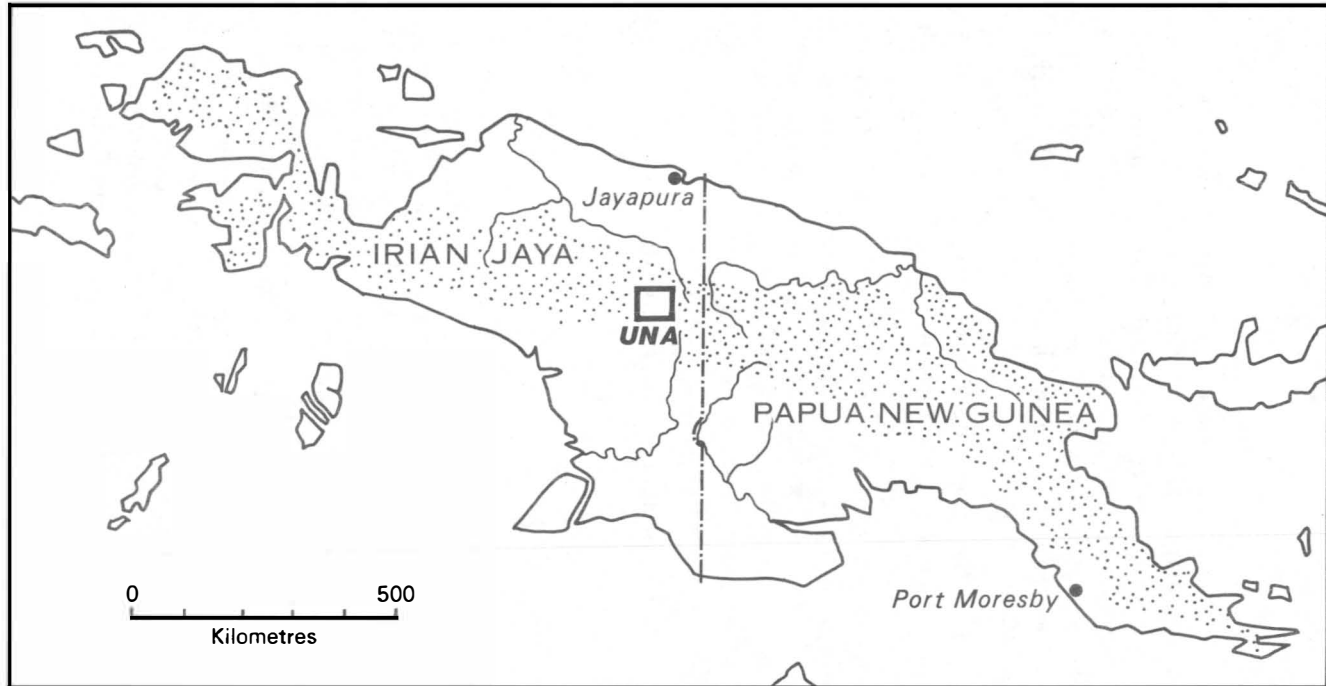
The Una language¹ is spoken by approximately 3500 people living in 40 villages and hamlets along the southern slopes of the central cordillera of the Pegunungan Jayawijaya (Orange Mountains) in the Ey, Sayn, Mo, Yamiyl, Kiynok, Ira, Mina, Be and Yay River valleys. These valleys are located between 139° 50' and 140° 20' eastern longitude and 4° 32' and 4° 54' southern latitude within the boundaries of the Kecamatan Kurima, in the Kabupaten Jayawijaya, in the province Irian Jaya (formerly Dutch New Guinea) of the Republic of Indonesia.

The Una² language is part of the Goliath stock level family (Voorhoeve 1975:18, 46, 67, 69) of the Central New Guinea macro-phylum (Schiefenhövel 1977:270, 275) which is also called Trans-New Guinea phylum (Voorhoeve 1975:16, 63). The term 'Goliath' (de Kock 1912) is based on European nomenclature (Schiefenhövel 1977:266; 1978:2). Therefore it has been suggested recently, on account of the linguistic and cultural homogeneity of the people (Schiefenhövel 1978:2) who live within a surprisingly large area of the Eastern Highlands of Irian Jaya to designate this people and their stock level language family with the term 'Mek' meaning 'water', analogous to the term 'Ok' which is used as a name for the neighbours of the 'Mek' to the East.

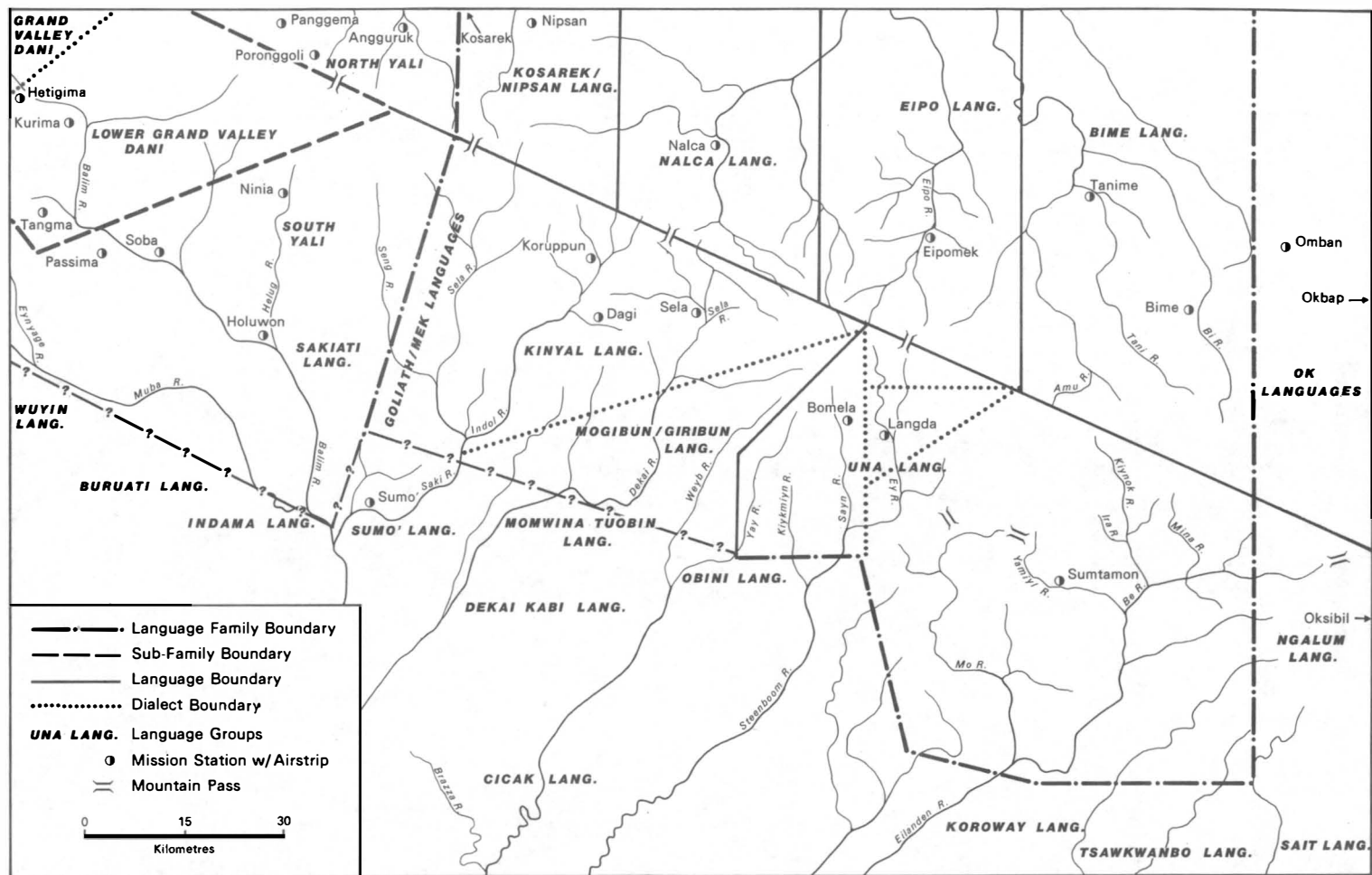
Four lexicographically distinct Una dialects were noticed:

1. Central Ey River Valley Dialect
2. Northern Ey River Valley Dialect
3. Sayn River Valley Dialect
4. Eastern Una Dialect

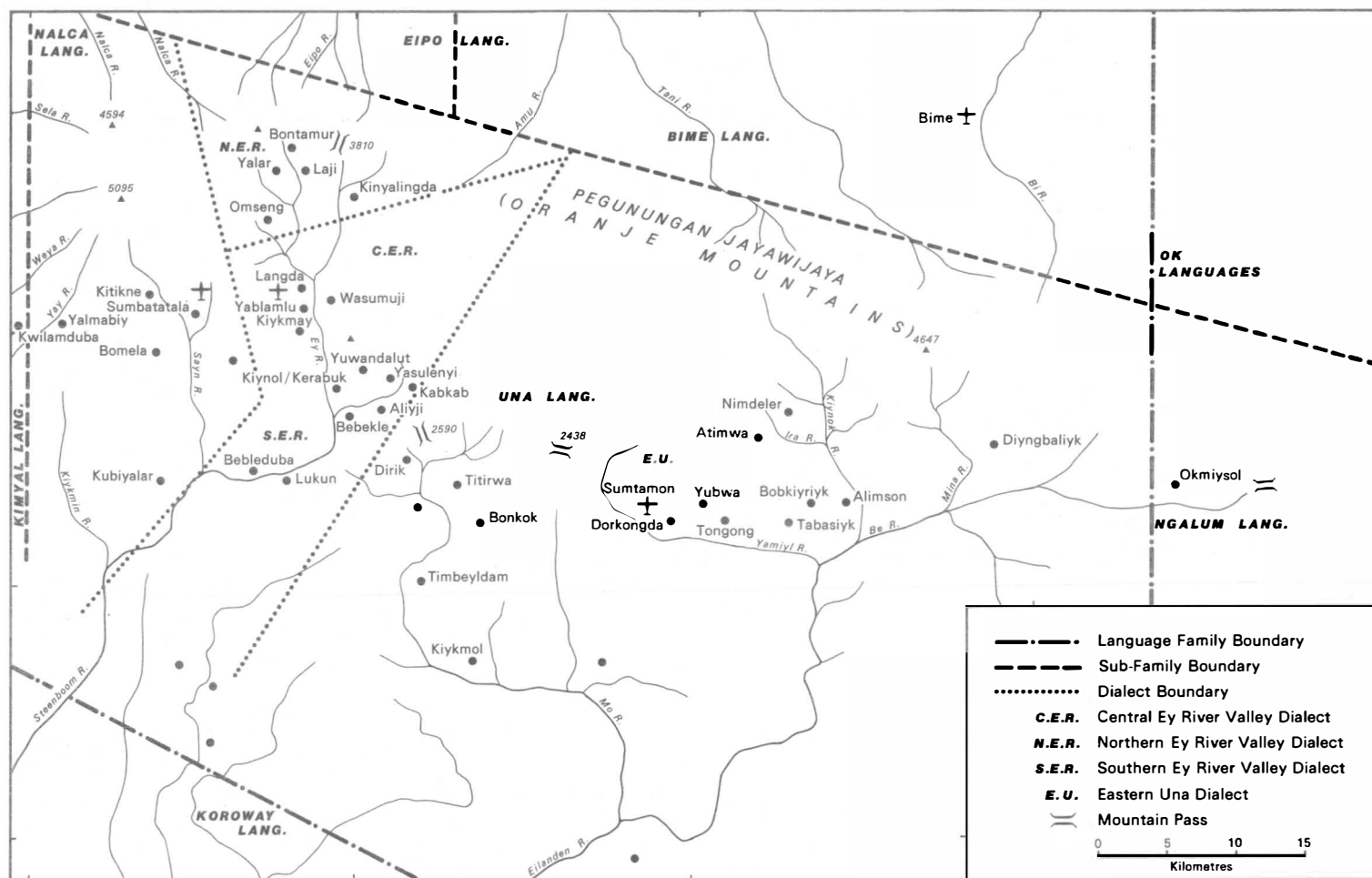
Besides lexicographical differences the lack of the voiceless glottal fricative [h] as the onset of [e^h] and [ɛ] in the Central Ey River Valley Dialect, is also a distinctive feature of the above mentioned Una dialects. Real bilingual and multilingual speakers are rare. However, it is possible that in a single village, especially one situated near a language/dialect boundary, up to seven different dialects/languages of the Mek Language Family are spoken, which are all mutually intelligible. This is, for example, the case in the village of Langda, where, besides the previously named four Una dialects, the Eipo, Lower Sela, and Kimyal dialects are also spoken. This is mainly caused by intermarriage from neighbouring valleys. The relationship between those languages and Una as members of the Mek Language Family (Louwerse 1976a, b, 1978a, e, 1982b), and the relationships of the latter to its neighbouring Trans-New Guinea Language Family Groups - Dani to the west, and Ok to the east - can be seen in Figure 1.



Map 1. Una language territory



Map 2. Boundaries of Goliath/Mek languages



Map 3. Una language boundaries

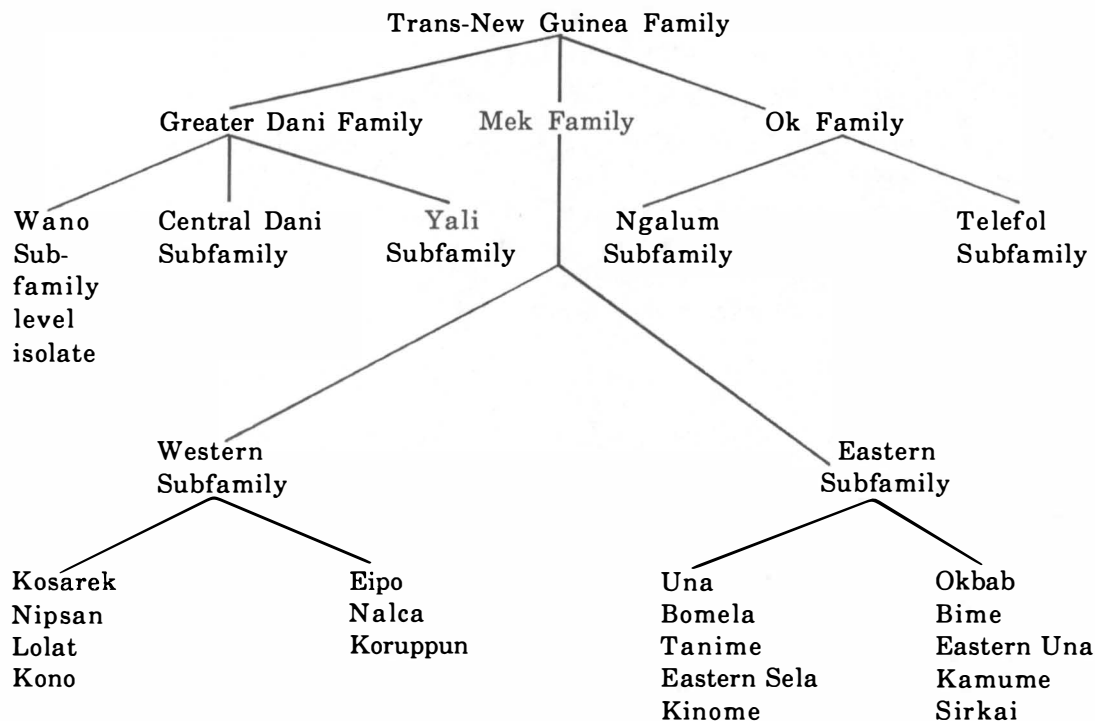


Figure 1

1.2 Content, arrangement and objective

The approach adopted in this study is loosely according to Pike & Pike (1982), which sees the grammar of a language as a hierarchy of levels. They attempt to develop a theoretical framework for the analysis and description of all human behaviour, including language, within a single model. Longacre (1958, 1960, 1976) has made several contributions to the development of this model, particularly in the area of grammatical studies and discourse analysis. The tagmeme, the basic unit posited in this model, is according to Pike and Pike (1982:33):

‘a constituent of a construction seen from the point of view of its four general features: slot, class, role, and cohesion... Each feature is closely related to each of the other three:

<u>slot</u>	<u>class(es)</u>
role	cohesion

...The substance that can be observed is the manifesting class... In addition, there sometimes are cohesion requirements of form for the tagmeme which integrate it further into that stream of speech.’

The nuclear or marginal characteristics of the units which occur at practically every level of the hierarchy are specified as follows:

We assume that probably the **nucleus** in contrast to the **margin**:

- (a) is more independent (in filling nuclear slots in higher levels or in dialogues);
- (b) more frequently has the option of representing the entire unit, of which it is a part, in larger units; and is more likely to identify the larger construction of which it is a part;
- (c) is a member of a large class (each member of which can fill the same slot);
- (d) occurs in more kinds of grammatical slots than do the marginal classes;
- (e) has the more central semantic role. (Pike and Pike 1982:25)

One notion of tagmemics, as expressed by Pike and Pike (1982:23), is that there is a grammatical hierarchy of ten levels consisting of the following minimum units with their expanded units: morpheme and morpheme cluster, word and phrase, clause and sentence, paragraph and monologue, exchange and conversation. (However, not all languages will have all levels. For example, in Una the absence of grammatical markers and units marking Conversation as a level in the grammatical hierarchy points to the fact that this unit in the hierarchy is not valid in Una.)

The units of each level have a structure usually stated in terms of units of the level below (except for the lowest, the Morpheme) and a function stated in terms of units of the level above (except for the highest, the Conversation). In the sections which follow we start at the word level, due to the fact that the verbal morphemes are one of the most important parts of speech in Una, in which most of the variations occur. Then we descend to the morpheme level and describe the morphological features before describing the phrase and clause levels. The approach for the analysis of the word and phrase level is according to Pike & Pike, 1982. The analysis of the clause and higher levels is according to Longacre, 1976 which includes newer additions to the tagmemic framework, such as the distinction between deep and surface grammar which has been popularised by proponents of transformational-generative grammar.

This descriptive grammar of a segment of Una grammar tries to keep as close to the data as possible. This analysis is not an exposition of any tagmemic theory as such with language data used for illustrative purposes, but rather a description of language data (Louwerse 1983c) with comments on some theoretical issues (Louwerse & van der Wilden 1975; Louwerse 1978b). There is a twofold justification for such a study. Una, as a non-Austronesian language of the Central New Guinea macro-phylum of Irian Jaya, represents a family and phylum of languages still little known and less described, so that the analysis is of interest for purely descriptive and typological purposes.

But theoretical advances need to be tested against as wide a variety of languages as possible, and such testing may proceed either by selecting data from a single language or a number of languages to illustrate and test a particular point, or by providing as full data

as possible for a selected segment of a particular grammar. Instead of selection of data in terms of a particular current issue or theory for illustrative purposes, risking hiding of data which may become of considerable interest, I have chosen the older approach of description which seeks to elucidate the structure of a segment of the Una language in terms of limits which seem to me to be suggested by the data and try to give as full data as practical for that segment.

1.3 Segmental phonemes

Una has thirty phonemes: seven basic vowel qualities plus diphthongs and nineteen consonants. Figure 2 shows the Una vowels arranged according to Schane's (1974:305; Louwerse 1982c, d) spatial arrangement:

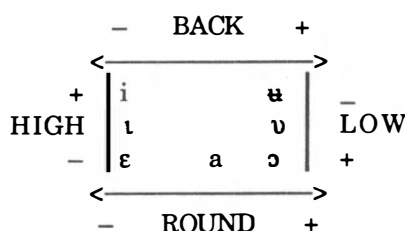


Figure 2. Una chart of vowels

The vowels are:

Orthographic
Symbolization

high close front unrounded	/i/	<i>iy</i>
high open front unrounded	/ɪ/	<i>i</i>
high close back rounded	/ʊ/	<i>uw</i>
high open back rounded	/u/	<i>u</i>
mid open front unrounded	/ɛ/	<i>e</i>
low close back rounded	/ɔ/	<i>o</i>
low open central unrounded	/a/	<i>a</i>

e.g.

(1)	/bi/	<i>biy</i>	red of sunset
(2)	/bɪ/	<i>bi</i>	bird species
(3)	/kʊ/	<i>kuw</i>	red flowered border plant
(4)	/ku/	<i>ku</i>	middle vein of leaf e.g., tobacco

The following vowels have allophones:

The voiced mid open front unrounded slightly retracted vocoid [ɛ̠], which occurs word finally in stressed syllables, is an allophone of the mid open voiced unrounded vowel /ɛ/;

The voiced mid open central unrounded vocoid [ʌ], which occurs word initially and medially in closed syllables, is an allophone of the voiced low open central unrounded vowel /a/;

The same is true for the voiced low close front unrounded vocoid [æ], which occurs word medially contiguous to [r] in unstressed ultimate syllables, and for the voiced mid close central unrounded vocoid [ə] which occurs word finally in unstressed syllables preceded by a labialized or palatalized consonant.

The phonological quality of what has been called in Schane's Spatial Arrangement (cf. Figure 2) the 'high close back rounded vowel /ʊ/' is more central as shown in the Spatial Arrangement. To indicate this distinction a horizontal bar crosses through the 'u'.

The high vowels contrast with diphthongs up to mid vowel level. Since Una has no suspect vocoid clusters, the diphthongs /eⁱ/, /o^u/, /aⁱ/ and /a^u/ all of which have one mora timing in which both vocoids receive equal stress, are interpreted as single vowels. The diphthongs are:

low open central unrounded vocoid with onsglide to high close front unrounded	/a ⁱ /	ay
low open central unrounded vocoid with onsglide to high close back rounded	/a ^u /	aw
mid close back rounded vocoid with onsglide to high close back rounded	/o ^u /	ow
mid close front unrounded vocoid with onsglide to high close front unrounded	/e ⁱ /	ey

e.g.

(1)	/te ⁱ /	tey	door	versus	/te/	te	hand
(2)	/do ^u /	dow	fine weather	versus	/dɔ/	do	bird species
(3)	/ka ⁱ /	kay	snake species	versus	/ka/	ka	in-law
(4)	/ka ^u /	kaw	dull	versus	/ka/	ka	in-law

The consonants are shown in figure 3:

		Bil.	Lzd.	Alv.	A-Pal.	Vel.
Stops	vl.		k ^w	t	t ^y	k
	vd.	b	b ^w	d	b ^y , d ^y	
Fricatives	vl.			s		
	vd.	w			y	
Nasals	vd	m	m ^w	n	n ^y	ʌ
Laterals	vd.			l	l ^y	
two voiceless stops				/t/ and /k/		t/k
two voiced stops				/b/ and /d/		b/d
a voiceless labialized stop				/k ^w /		k ^w
a voiced labialized stop				/b ^w /		b ^w
a voiceless palatalized stop				/t ^y /		c

two voiced palatalized stops	/b y/ and /d y/	<i>by/j</i>
one voiceless grooved fricative	/s/	<i>s</i>
three nasals	/m/, /n/ and /ŋ/	<i>m/n/ng</i>
a labialized nasal	/m ^w /	<i>mw</i>
a palatalized nasal	/n y/	<i>ny</i>
a lateral	/l/	<i>l</i>
a palatalized lateral	/l y/	<i>ly</i>
two semi-consonants	/w/ and /y/	<i>w/y</i>

Figure 3. Una chart of consonants

1.4 Pitch-accent

Una is a pitch-accent language, there being one accent-carrying syllable on each phonological word. Words can have from one to nine syllables. Monosyllabic words can be accented or unaccented. Unaccented monosyllabic words carry a low pitch or a pitch which glides upward slightly from low. In any case, such a pitch is lower than the high of the accented syllable.

Only a very limited group of monosyllabic words have been found with contrasting pitch. Because of the relatively small number of these words and the absence of problems in the interpretation of the meaning of these words in context, we have chosen not to symbolize pitch in the orthography. In Una accent is phonemic, but for reasons similar to those mentioned above regarding pitch symbolization, accent will not be indicated in the body of this monograph.

For a more detailed treatment of Una phonemics, cf. Louwerse 1978b, 1982f).

1.5 Some morphophonemic rules

By comparison with analogous verbal affixation and words in isolation, the hypothetical form of a morph (represented by [[...]]) can be predicted. Many of the allomorphs occurring in phonologically specified environments may be accounted for by the following ten rules of the so called 'minor sound change processes.'

1.5.1 Twin consonant reduction

All twin consonants with the exception of bb (cf. Rule 1.5.3):

$C_1C_2 \rightarrow C_2$
 [[dok-kwa-yeb]] \rightarrow *dokwayeb*
 insert-3fut-1pl
 'We will insert'

 [[bin-n-yay]] \rightarrow *binyay*
 go-1sg-avolMode
 'Don't go'

1.5.2 Assimilation

1.5.2.1. Regressive contiguous assimilation

- A. $b \rightarrow r / \text{---}y$
 [[yib-yan-ma-ng]] \rightarrow *yiryanmang*
 eat-come-incompAsp-3pl pr t
 'They come to eat'
- B. $b \rightarrow m / \text{---}d$
 [[kir-kib-dut-nyi]] \rightarrow *kitkimdutnyi*
 spell-be-3sg cont t-person
 'He³ casts spells'
- C. $r \rightarrow t / \text{---}k$
 e.g., cf. B immediately above.
- D. $i \rightarrow ey / \text{---}by$
 [[bi-ti-byi]] \rightarrow *biteybyi*
 go-aptAsp-1pl pt t
 'We can go'
- E. $k \rightarrow ng / \text{---}y$
 [[kuluk-yan-ma-r]] \rightarrow *kulungyanmar*
 crawl-come-incompAsp-3sg pr t
 'He crawls down (on his belly)'
- F. $na \rightarrow ng / \text{---}k$
 (Regressive assimilation across word boundary)
 [[ba-na kum]] \rightarrow *bang kum*
 go-infin not
 'Don't go'

1.5.2.2 Regressive noncontiguous assimilation

- $d \rightarrow n / \text{---}n, \text{---}ng, \text{---}b$
 [[buk-du-num]] \rightarrow *buknunum*
 sit-limpMode-1dl
 'Let's both sit down right now!'

[[buk-du-ng]] → *buknung*
 sit-1impMode-3dl
 'Let both of them sit down right now!'

1.5.2.3 Progressive assimilation

- A. j → c / nasals—
 [[buk-min-jok]] → *bukmincok*
 sit-2sg pr t-simultAsp
 'While you sit'
 [[buk-durum-jok]] → *bukdurumcok*
 sit-2dl pr t-simultAsp
 'While you two sit'
- B. d → r / b—
 [[bob-dob-ma-r]] → *bobrobmar*
 carry-causAsp-incompAsp-3sg pr t
 'Let him carry'
- C. ny → y / b—
 [[buk-ib-nyay]] → *bukibyay*
 sit-1pl-avolMode
 'We should not sit (down)!'
- D. ny → c / (de → Ø)—
 [[buk-de-nyay]] → *bukcay*
 sit-3sg pr t-avolMode
 'Don't sit!'
 [[anab-de-nyura]] → *anabcura*
 appear-3sg-depAntAsp
 'Having appeared'

1.5.2.4 Vowel harmony

Regressive noncontiguous assimilation

- i → u / —u
 [[ya-ti-rurum]] → *yatururum*
 come-aptAsp-2dl pr t
 'They two can come'
- i → iy / —Ciy

[[ni-miy]] → *niymiy*
 my-child
 'My child'

[[buk-ibiyjok]] → *bukiybiyjok*
 sit-pr t 1pl simultAsp
 'While we sit'

1.5.3 Dissimilation

Regressive contiguous dissimilation

b → r / — b

[[lilib-bin-ma-n]] → *lilirbinman*
 level-go-incompAsp-1sg pr t
 'I go to level (the garden)'

1.5.4 Syncope

Loss of word-medial sounds occurs in utterances like:

[[eb-m-ow-bwa-urjok]] → *ebmaburjok*
 tell-incompAsp-3pst t-1pl-simultAsp
 'While we told'

1.5.5 Weakening of intervocalic consonant

Leveling of the voiced stop /d/ to a voiced flapped vibrant [r]⁴ in intervocalic position:

d → r / V — V

[[Mo-duman]] → *moruman*
 Mo-valley

[[bi-du-rum]] → *birurum*
 sit-1impMode-2dl
 'You two sit down!'

1.5.6 Metathesis

1.5.6.1 Contiguous metathesis

[[buk-im-nyay]] → *bukminyay*
 sit-2sg-avolMode
 'Don't sit!'

1.5.6.2 Noncontiguous metathesis

[[teneb-ti daw]] → *tenebdawti*
 think-aptAsp-2pl pr t
 'They can think'

1.5.7 Deletion

- A. [[eb-ti-rum]] → *ebtum*
 say-aptAsp-3 sg pr t
 'They can speak'
- B. [[ereb-deyb-mo-w]] → *ereybmow*
 lift-causVc-incompAsp-3sg 3pst t
 'He lifted him up/he caused him to get up'

1.5.8 Reduction of word-medial consonant cluster

ty → c / # — #
 [[kwit-yabwa]] → *kwicabwa*
 N pl
 'FBs(pl)/MS(pl)/MBds(pl)'
 [[weyt-yabwa]] → *weycabwa*
 friend-pl
 'Friends'

1.5.9 Anaptyxis

The gain of an interconsonantal vowel occurs in:

[[bas-yabwa]] → *basiyabwa*
 HB/WB-pl
 'HB(pl)/WB(pl)'

1.5.10 Double vowel reduction

Of all consecutive vowels the first vowel is deleted:

V₁V₂ → V₂
 [[eb -ti-nyi-ura]] → *ebtinyura*
 say-hypMode-1sg-depAsp
 'When I say'

[[kiyliyb-ma- si- ow]] → *kiyliybmasow*
 clean-incompAsp-1plU-3sg3pst t
 'He cleansed us'

2. THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE VERB

2.1 General remarks about Una verb inflection

The intricate verb structure of Una is like that in other Papua New Guinea - Irian Jaya languages, often comparable in role and cohesion features to the clause root. Not infrequently a single verb form is a complete clause including agent and personal objects as undergoer, scope or benefactee, and a significant proportion of verb inflection signals relationships among verbs in sequence. In comparison with other languages it is therefore rather difficult in Una to isolate morphology from syntax. The feature which Wurm (1969:81) calls 'one of the most striking characteristics' of highland New Guinea languages is also true for Una: the occurrence of a clause containing an independent sentence-final verb preceded by one or more clauses containing dependent sentence-medial verbs marked to indicate switch reference (i.e. identity or non-identity of grammatical subjects of the verb in the two clauses). This phenomenon of stringing clauses together was labelled 'chaining' by McCarthy (1965) - see also Capell (1962:115) - and has been reported for an increasing number of languages in the New Guinea - Irian Jaya area. The dependent aspect verb final suffixes such as simultaneous and simultfactive aspects mark respectively the same or different subjects of actions occurring at the same time, and in doing so keep track of the participants of actions. The anticipatory and preview aspects mark consecutive actions marked in verbs which are found in sequence, sometimes even beyond the sentence boundary. This phenomenon was also noticed in Telefol to the east of Una (cf. Healey 1966) and in Dani to the west of Una (cf. Bromley 1972).

2.2 Verb complex

The general linear structure of the verbal complex is as shown in these three formulas:

$$\text{Cont Ts VHC} = + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Pred}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{VStHC} \\ \text{VRtHC} \\ \text{>Tty>} \end{array} \right. + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{ContTs}} \left| \begin{array}{c} - \text{nin} \\ \text{>TmW} \end{array} \right.$$

Figure 4

$$\text{Impers VcVHC} = + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Pred}} \left| \frac{\text{VStHC}}{\text{VRtHC}} \right| + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{ImpersVc}} \left| \frac{-C+[-na]}{\text{}} \right|$$

Figure 5

$$\begin{aligned} \text{VHC} = & + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Pred}} \left| \frac{\text{VStHC}}{\text{VRtHC}} \right| + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Vc}} \left| \frac{\text{VcSuf}}{\text{>Tty>}} \right| \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Ts-Asp}} \left| \frac{\text{Ts-AspSuf}}{\text{>Tm W}} \right| \\ & \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{U/Sc/Ben}} \left| \frac{\text{U/Sc/BenSuf}}{\text{>N}} \right| \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Mode 1}} \left| \frac{\text{Mode 1Suf}}{\text{>Pro}} \right| \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Ts-A}} \left| \frac{\text{Ts-A Suf}}{\text{>Tm W}} \right| \\ & \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{DepAsp}} \left| \frac{\text{DepAspSuf}}{\text{Next Cl>}} \right| \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Mode2}} \left| \frac{\text{Mode2Suf}}{\text{>Previous Sent}} \right| \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Emph}} \left| \frac{\text{Enclitic}}{\text{Excl}} \right| \end{aligned}$$

Figure 6

Cohesion statements:

1. Mode 1 and Mode 2 are mutually exclusive
2. Dep Asp and Mode 2 are mutually exclusive
3. Dep Asp and Clitic are mutually exclusive
4. Tty: BTVRt or TVRt with \pm Vc or \pm U/Sc/Ben

2.3 Verb nucleus

The following classes of the verb nucleus occur:

2.3.1 Verb stem hyper class

$$\text{VStHC} = \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Pred1}} \left| \frac{\text{VRtHC}}{\text{>Tty>}} \right| \pm \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Pred2}} \left| \frac{\text{VRtHC}}{\text{>Tty>}} \right| \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Pred3}} \left| \frac{\text{MotionVRt}}{\text{>Tty>}} \right|$$

Figure 7

Cohesion statements:

1. VStHC consists of a minimum of two tagmemes.

This kind of agglutinative verb root compounding is a characteristic feature of the Una language. The whole range of syntactic and lexical functions such as intentional mode, etc., of this formation cannot be described in this work. They yield either new lexemes or they assume syntactic functions (cf. Louwerse 1982a). In the case of compounding of three verb roots the last verb root is a verb of motion.

2.3.1.1 Motion verb root in verb stem hyper class

- e.g. 1. *bong-deyriyt-yan-ma-b*
 carry-deposit-come-incompAsp-1pl pr t
 'We come carrying (in order to) deposit'
2. *bo-bulub-deyb-ma-k-ow*
 carry-gather-deliver-incompAsp-2sgBen-3sg pst t
 'He gathered, carried and delivered (wood) for you'
3. *bo-anam-bin-ma-ng*
 carry-appear-go-incompAsp-3pl pr t
 'They appear and go away carrying'

2.3.1.2 Intentional mode in verb stem hyper class

- e.g. 1. *sun yir-yan-ma-rum*
 they eat-come-incompAsp-2pl pr t
 'To come (in order) to eat'
2. *kwaning bo-dongob-ma-r*
 sweet potatoes carry-deliver-incompAsp-3sg pr t
 'She carries the sweet potatoes in order to deliver them (in his hut)'

2.3.1.3 Verbalized adjective in verb stem hyper class

- e.g. 1. *teleb-rob-ma-r*
 good-causAsp-incompAsp-3sg pr t
 'He causes (it) to be good/glad/happy'
2. *mitik-si-ng*
 few-1pl U-3pl pr t
 'They will make us few/almost eradicate us'
3. *walwal-absinib-ma-r*
 unknown-1pl Sc-incompAsp-3sg pr t
 'It is at a place unknown to us/it disappeared'

2.3.1.4 Verbalized numeral in verb stem hyper class

- e.g. 1. *er ner amubar-eyb-wa*
 he wife five-transVc-3sg3pst t
 'He took his fifth wife'
2. *sun a yina bintin-eyb-ma-y*
 they that food two-transVc-incompAsp-3pl3pst t
 They doubled that food'
3. *ni-mar wiyniyr-iyb-ma-n*
 my-arrow three-transVc-incompAsp-1sg pr t
 'I treble my arrows'

2.3.2 Pseudo verbs

A group of non-conjugated verb-like forms, which have a very limited distribution, occurs in Una. These forms are called by Bromley⁵ 'non-verbal clause nuclei' (and are therefore not included in Figures 4-6):

<i>li</i>	'Do not want/reject/refuse'
<i>teleb</i>	'Want/long for/be content ⁶ /like'
<i>walwal</i>	'Do not know/be unaware'

- e.g. 1. *ni wa ir-ba-na er li*
 I garden work-go-infin he doesn't want
 'He doesn't want me to go and work in the garden'
2. *ni li*
 I don't want
 'I don't want/reject/refuse'
3. *a ya ni telep*
 that axe I want
 'I want to have that axe'
4. *ato er telep*
 like that he content
 'He is content with that'
5. *er a deyok walwal*
 he this matter not know
 'He does not know/is unaware of this matter'

2.4 Verb classes

The term 'verb classes' is used in Una morphology in a somewhat different way from its use in the description of languages in general, but according to its use in some descriptions of languages with comparable features, e.g., Loving and McKaughan

1964:3; Bromley 1972:562ff; Heeschen 1978:25; and Fahner 1979:43, 44. Grouping verbs into these classes has proven to be valuable since it makes the description of many categories more intelligible and shorter⁷. The criteria to distinguish these verb classes from one another are in the form of two triplets⁸, verb suffixation and final consonants.

1. Verb suffixation.

Triplet 1

- Class I : Impersonal verb complexes:
VRtHC - final C + {-na}
- Class II : Transitive verb complexes:
BTVRt or TVRt + (\pm Vc or \pm U/Sc/Ben)
- Class III: Intransitive verb complexes:
IntrVRt - (Vc or U/Sc/Ben)

In the following lines some examples of the different verb suffixation classes are given:

- Class I : 1. *dukduk ena*
heart say infin
'(The sun) stands in zenith/noon'
2. *ena mem*
speak infin prohibited
'It is forbidden to speak'
3. *bang kum*
go infin not
'Don't go'

Morphophonemic rule: Regressive assimilation: -na \rightarrow -ng / \rightarrow k

- Class II : 1. *er am deyb-ma-ni-r*
he taro deposit- incompAsp-1sgBen-3sg pr t
'He lays down taro for me'
2. *eb-ma-ki-r-do*
say-incompAsp-2sgSc-3sg pr t-intrMode
'Does he speak to you?'
3. *ob-ma-si-ng*
kill-incompAsp-1pl U-3pl pr t
'They kill us!'
4. *er ner amubar-eyb-wa*
he wife five-transVc-3sg3pst t
'He took his fifth wife'

- Class III: 1. *yan-mo-w*
come-incompAsp-3sg3pst t
'He came'

2. *buk-ma-ng*
sit-incompAsp-3pl pr t
'They are sitting'
3. *dib-ma-y*
die-incompAsp-3pl3pst t
'They died'

2. The second set of criteria to distinguish Una verb classes is the final consonant of the verb stem or verb root which can end only in *k*, *n*, or *b*, each of which can be deleted or changed in certain phonological environments:

Triplet 2

Class A: verbs with root final *k*

Class B: verbs with root final *n*

Class C: verbs with root final *b*

In the following lines some examples of members of the different verb classes are given:

Class A: *buk-* *donok-* *ak-* *cak-* *dek-* *dok-*
 sit throw away yawn scrape pay insert

Class B: *bin-* *yan-*
 go come

Class C: *leb-* *anab-* *bab-* *kekeb-*
 save appear peel/plane hear

The verb final consonants *-k* and *-b* of Class A and B mark the punctiliar aspect of the verb, considered to be a single temporal unit. This means that most verb stems are basically punctiliar. Class C consists of only two verbs of motion: *bin-* 'to go' and *yan-* 'to come' which have the final *n* in common, meaning: 'a momentaneous action'.

2.5 Continuous tense suffix

The continuous tense suffix *-nin* fills the second (i.e. final) verb tagmeme of the continuous tense verb hyper class. (Verb reduplication optionally signals also the continuous tense.)

- e.g. 1. *buk-nin*
 sit-cont t
 'Sit(s) continually'
2. *eb-nin*
 speak-cont t
 'Speak(s) continually'

3. *er etereb-nin etereb-nin yib-arande*
 he teach-cont t teach-cont t go around-3sg3pst t
 'He has gone around teaching continually'
4. *er Ey nowtam asi kowkabok-nin kowkabok-nin*
 he Ey centre NOM step-cont t step-cont t
b-an-mow
 go-momAsp-3sg3ps t
 'He stepped carefully step by step forward to the centre of the Ey River'

2.6 Voice

Verbal voice suffixation in Una, marking the relationship of the participants to the action, consists of two categories filling two distinguished tagmemes:

Class I: Impersonal voice

Class II: Personal voice

2.6.1 Impersonal voice suffix

The impersonal voice verb complex is expressed by a verb root hyper class, the members of which have the final consonant deleted, and which is expanded by a {-na} suffix forming the infinitive. This form, filling the second, (i.e. final) verb tagmeme of the impersonal voice verb hyper class, is used in the prohibitive, permissive, indirect imperative, and negative imperative modes, and the habitative or customary aspect. In all the above-mentioned modes and aspects the impersonal voice suffix is structurally the same but differs only in the filler of the last slot which indicates the meaning.

Morphophonemic rule: Regressive assimilation occurs as follows:

-na → *-ng* / — *k*

1. Prohibitive mode

The prohibitive or remonstrative mode is used prior to, or following initiation of an undesirable action which is expressed in the verb, or when this action seems to be actively contemplated. There is no contrast of person or number of the subject in this form, and the infinitive form is followed by the free particle *mem* 'prohibited/forbidden'.

- e.g. 1. *bu-na mem*
 sit-infin prohibited
 'It is forbidden to sit'
2. *e-na mem*
 speak-infin prohibited
 'It is forbidden to speak'

3. *ba-na mem*
 go-infin prohibited
 'It is forbidden to go'

2. Permissive mode

The permissive mode is indicated by the infinitive form followed by the free participle *ur* 'it's O.K./go ahead'

- e.g. 1. *bu-na ur*
 sit-infin O.K.
 'It is O.K. to sit'
2. *e-na ur*
 speak-infin O.K.
 'It is O.K. to speak'

3. Indirect imperative mode

The indirect imperative mode is used when giving orders to somebody to be passed on, and is formed by the infinitive of a verb of action, followed by the immediate imperative mode of the verb *eb-* 'say/tell' (cf. 2.9.1.1).

- e.g. 1. *bu-na eb-ru-m*
 sit-infin say-IImpMode-2sg
 'Say: Sit down'
2. *ya-na eb-da-rut*
 come-infin say-IImpMode-2pl
 'You all say: Come here'
3. *kerek -seng-na eb-du-rum*
 write-infin say-IImpMode-2dl
 'You two say: Write (it down)'

4. Negative imperative mode

The negative imperative mode is used prior to, or following, the initiation of an undesirable action which is expressed in the verb, or when this action seems to be actively contemplated. Such an expression is less strong than one using the prohibitive mode. The negative imperative mode is formed by the infinitive, followed by *kum* 'not'.

- | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| e.g. <i>bu-ng kum</i> | <i>ba-ng kum</i> | <i>e-ng kum</i> |
| sit-infin not | go-infin not | speak-infin not |
| 'Don't sit' | 'Don't go' | 'Don't speak' |

5. Habituaive aspect

The habituaive or normal aspect is a category referring to the aspectual qualities of events which normally recur, whether frequently or infrequently, and is formed by the infinitive followed by *ukunyi kib-* 'usually'.

- e.g. 1. *atam bu-na ukunyi kib-k-ow*
 there sit-infin usually be-2sgSc-3sg3pst t
 'He usually seated you there'
2. *otam ya-na ukunyi kib-s-ow*
 over there come-infin usually be-1plSc-3sg3pst t
 'He usually came to us (from) that place over there'
3. *eytam ba-na ukunyi keyb-wa*
 up there go-infin usually be-3sg3pst t
 'He usually goes to that place up there'

2.6.2 Personal voice suffixes

The personal voice verb complex (cf. Figure 6) is expressed by a verb root hyper class which is expanded by a causative {-*dob*}, a transitive {-*eyb*}, or a reciprocal {-*dan*} suffix filling the second verb tagmeme.

Morphophonemic rules: Progressive assimilation occurs in the following examples:

{- <i>dob</i> }	causVc	
- <i>rob</i>	/ b—	(2, 3, 4)
- <i>lob</i>	/ high tone	(6-10)
- <i>dob</i>	/ elsewhere	(1, 5)

2.6.2.1 Causative voice suffix

A verb with the causative voice suffix {-*dob*} marks the cause of an event.

- e.g. 1. *ilil aji ni-kaynya bin-dob-ni-r*
 fear ERG my-soul go-causVc-1sgU-3sg pr t
 'Fear caused my soul to go/I am frightened'
2. *kan kan-kerek sengna kum dob-rob-mow-bwa*
 you your-paper written not receive-causVc-incompAsp-1pl3pst t
 'You caused us not to receive your letter'
3. *miy kwaknab-rob-ma-r*
 child adopt-causVc -incompAsp-3sg pr t
 '(Her death) caused him to adopt the child'
4. *teleb-rob- ma-r*
 good-causVc-incompAsp-3sg pr t
 'He causes to be happy/glad'

5. *miy bay bin-dob-wa*
boy outside go-causVc-3sg3pst t
'They made the boy go outside' (euphemism for 'They caused the boy to remain outside /they disposed of the baby boy')
6. *sun-ci er-aling kwiyrityb-lob-wa*
they-ERG his-clothes
tear-causVc-incompAsp-3sg pr t
'They caused his clothes to tear/they ripped off his clothes'
7. *er-uram eb-lob-ma-r*
his-order speak-causVc-incompAsp-3sg pr t
'He causes him to speak/he gives orders to be passed on'
8. *ururu kumwa aji maning eyak-lob-ma-r*
plane wind ERG grass flatten-causVc-incompAsp-3s pr
'The wind from the airplane flattens the grass'
9. *bisam towrya aji kol kol seb-lob-ma-r*
pig rope ABL widen free-causVc-incompAsp-3sg pr t
'The pig frees itself from the rope'
10. *le yan aji kolab kirik-lob-ma-r*
skirt legs INST beat rustle-causVc-incompAsp-3sg pr
'The legs beat the grass skirt and cause it to rustle'

2.6.2.2 Transitive voice suffix

Transitive verbs are optionally marked with the transitive voice suffix *-eyb*. Focus on the non-cooperative response of the person addressed, or undergoing the action, is the conditioning factor for the use of this transitive voice suffix.

- e.g. 1. *kan a kerek sengna bin-eyb-ru-m*
you that paper written go-transVc-1impMode-2sg prt
'Bring this letter away, please'
2. *er ner amubar-eyb-wa*
he wife five-transVc-3sg3pst t
'He took his fifth wife'
3. *er a-nyi er-eyb-mo-w*
he that-person lift-transVc-incompAsp-3sg3pst t
'He lifted him up'
4. *nun-ci sun buk-eyb-ma-b*
we-ERG they sit-transVc-incompAsp-1pl pr t
'We placed them/we seated them'

2.6.2.3 Reciprocal voice suffix

- e.g. 1. *sun niynyi er-dam libkusuk-dan-ma-y*
 they people his-place push up to-recVc-incompAsp-3pl 3pst t
 'The people pushed up each other to the place where he was'
2. *sun liyliyb-ran-ma-y*
 they ward off/parry-recVc-incompAsp-3pl3pst t
 'They parried/warded off each other'
3. *sun bitinyi dokeyb-ran-ma-rey*
 they two push over-recVc-incompAsp-3dl3pst t
 'They two tried to push over each other/wrestled'

2.7 Tense-aspect suffixes

In Una the verbal tense is very closely associated with the independent aspect markers, which specify the kind of action(s) and whether or not the action(s) took place earlier on, or will take place in the future. These tense-independent aspect suffixes fill the third verb tagmeme slot. However, this suffix combination can be segmented in the following three columns: Aspect I, Tense, and Aspect II markers.

Cohesion statement:

A tense-aspect suffix string consists of a maximum of the three above mentioned markers. Only the incomplete aspect suffix {-*ma*} can fill the Aspect II column following the Tense suffix column. All other aspect suffixes fill the Aspect I column (cf. 2.15).

2.7.1 Aspect I markers in tense-aspect suffixes

2.7.1.1 Continuous aspect suffix

The {-*n*} suffix marks a continuous or continuative aspect of an action and can fill the first column of the tense-aspect suffix tagmeme slot. The threshold of time indicated by the continuous aspect suffix is longer than the one indicated by the durative aspect suffix (cf. 2.7.1.2). The difference between the former and the continuous tense suffix -*nin* is that the proper translation of the latter is restricted to 'continually/continued to'.

- e.g. 1. *kan bi-nan-dim*
 you go-contAsp-2sgperf rel t
 'You are going already for quite some time'
2. *sun atam bu-ran-dey*
 they there sit-contAsp-3dl3pst t
 'They two were sitting there for a long time two days ago'

3. *sun e-ran-dum*
they say-contAsp-2pl pr t
'They are saying always'
4. *er ato e-n-ma-r*
he like say-contAsp-incompAsp-3sg pr t
'He is saying that for quite some time now'
5. *kolab kolab e-n-ma-ng*
beat beat say-contAsp-incompAsp-3pl pr t
'They repeatedly are beating her'

Grammatical rules:

{-n-}	continuous aspect
-ran	/ 3pst t, pr t
-an	/ 2pst t, perf rel t, pluperf rel t
-n	/ elsewhere

Morphophonemic rule:

In all examples verb root final consonants are deleted by regressive assimilation.

2.7.1.2 Durative aspect suffix

The *-ab* suffix marks a durative aspect of an action which lasts for some time.

- e.g. 1. *er-ci er-ay dam buk-ab-wa*
he-ERG his-hut place sit-durAsp-3sg1pst t
'He sat near his hut for a while just a while ago'
2. *sun Langda bin-ab-daw*
they Langda go-durAsp-2pl1pst t
'They were walking to Langda for a while just a while ago'
3. *sun e-ab-ungwa*
they say-durAsp-3pl1pst t
'They were speaking for a while just a while ago'

Morphophonemic rule: In example 3 the verb root final consonant is deleted by regressive assimilation.

2.7.1.3 Inchoative aspect suffix

The *-kaliyb* and *{-ok}* suffixes mark an inchoative also called an inceptive/aspect of an action. The focus is on the starting portion of an action. From informant reaction it seems that both morphemes have exactly the same semantic meaning.

- e.g. 1. *ni bu-kaliyb-ne*
I sit-inchoAsp-1sg pr t
'I begin to sit/sit down'

2. *er bin-kaliyb-de*
he go-inchoAsp-1sg pr t
'He begins to walk'
3. *buk-ok-ma-n*
sit-inchoAsp-incompAsp-1sg pr t
'I begin to sit/sit down'
4. *eb-ok-ma-r*
speak-inchoAsp-incompAsp-3sg pr t
'He begins to speak'

Morphophonemic rule: Twin consonant reduction deletes verb root final consonant in example 1. [[bukkaliybne]] → *bukaliybne*.

2.7.1.4 Exhaustive aspect suffix

The *-kirib* suffix marks an exhaustive aspect of an action, i.e., the action is exhaustingly applied on all the patients mentioned.

- e.g. 1. *ob-kirib-sey-cay*
kill-exhAsp-1plU-3sg avolMode
'Watch it, he will kill all of us!'
2. *er-ci utotowa niyja kareb-kirib-ma-r*
he-ERG kinds all give-exhAsp-incompAsp-3sg pr t
'He gives everything'
3. *sun Laji nang aji nun Langda nang*
they Laji people ERG we Langda people

ob-kirib-ma-se-y
kill-exhAsp-incompAsp-1plU-3pl3pst t
'The Laji people killed all the Langda people'
4. *ni a yina yib-kirib-se*
I that food eat-exhAsp-1sg3pst t
'I ate all that food'

2.7.1.5 Aptative aspect suffix

The *{-ti}* suffix marks an aptative, also called an abilitative aspect, expressing an aptitude or ability to act.

- e.g. 1. *ni buk-ti-nyi*
I sit-aptAsp-1sg pr t
'I can sit'

2. *er eb-tu-m*
he speak-aptAsp-3sg pr t
'He can speak'
3. *sun ya-tu-rurum*
they come-aptAsp-2dl pr t
'They two can come'
4. *nun-bi-tey-byi*
we-go-aptAsp-1pl pr t
'We can go'

Morphophonemic rule: Regressive assimilation occurs in the following examples:

- {-ti} aptAsp
 -tu / → *u* (3)
 -tey / → *yi* (4)
 -ti / elsewhere

Deletion occurs in example 2: [[ebtirum]] → *ebtum*

2.7.1.6 Momentaneous aspect suffix

The momentaneous aspect suffix *-n* replacing the verb root final consonants *-k* and *-b* marks an action covering a short period of time. The verbs of motion always are momentaneous and therefore already have a verb root final *-n*. The momentaneous aspect suffix precedes the imperfective aspect suffix (*-ma*) when present in a verb.

- e.g. 1. *bu-n-ma-r*
sit-momAsp-incompAsp-3sg pr t
'He sits (a while)'
2. *e-n-ma-rim*
speak-momAsp-incompAsp-2sg pr t
'You speak (a while)'

2.7.2 Tense markers in tense-aspect suffixes

The following tense suffixes can fill the second column of the tense-aspect suffix tagmeme slot (cf. 2.15). For an explanation of the following suffixes cf. 2.10.1.11, 2.10.2.4. - 2.10.3.1.

- {-kun} Near Future Tense (1fut t).
 {-kwab} Regular Future Tense (2fut t).
 {-kwan} Remote future Tense (3fut t) which is never followed by a past tense in the next clause.
 {-kwan} Future Perfect Relative Tense (fut perf rel t) which is always followed by a past tense in the next clause.

- {-an} (Plu)perfect Relative Tense (pluperf/perf rel t).
 {-nu} Continuous Tense (cont t).

- e.g. 1. *sun bitinyi er-ay dob-kun-durum*
 they two his-hut build-1fut-t-2dl
 'They two will build his hut right now'
2. *ururu yan-ku-r*
 airplane come-1fut-t-3sg
 'The airplane arrives right now'
3. *nun a kun ob-kwi-nim*
 we that bark beat-1fut t-1dl
 'We two will beat that bark right now'
4. *sun Laji nang aji sun Wasumuji nang ob-kwab-mang*
 they Laji people ERG they Wasumuji people fight with-2fut t-3pl
 'The Laji people are going to fight with the people of Wasumuji'
5. *er tabwa kab-kwan-de*
 he rope loosen-3fut t-3sg
 'He will loosen the rope'
6. *ni-ji er-siy a uram deyok niyja eb-kwa-n*
 I-ERG he-DAT that story topic all say-3fut t-1sg
 'I will tell him the whole story'
7. *nun niyja a wala yan-kwa-yeb*
 we all this moon come-3fut t-1pl
 'All of us will come this month'
8. *er bu-kwam-wa ate, a-nyi er nab-mo-w*
 he sit-fut perf rel t-3sg cc that-man him call-incomp Asp-3sg3pst t
 'He would have to sit down, (but) that man called him (away)'
9. *a nerabwa bin-kwam-nyi*
 these women go-fut perf rel t-3pl pst t
 'These women should have gone (but they didn't)'
10. *ni a uram deyok er-siy e-an-se*
 I that story topic him-DAT tell-pluperf rel t-1sg
 'I had told him that story'
11. *nun Laji bin-a-mowbwa*
 we Laji go-pluperf rel t-1pl
 'We had gone to Laji'
12. *ni er-wa dam buk-a-n*
 I his-garden place sit-perf rel t-1sg
 'I have sat in his garden'

13. *sun tuba tuba ba-nu-ng*
 they time time go-cont t-3pl
 'They go time and again/continually'
14. *er wa kum i-ru-t ate, er tuba tuba bu-ru-t*
 he garden not work-cont t-3sg cc he time time sit-cont t-3sg
 'He never works in his garden, he always sits (on his rear end)'
15. *sun a deyok er-siy tuba tuba e-n-darut*
 they that topic him-DAT time time tell-cont t-2pl
 'They two tell him about that point time and again'

Morphophonemic rules: Regressive assimilation occurs in the following examples:

{- <i>kun</i> }	near future tense	
- <i>ku</i>	/ — <i>n</i> , — <i>r</i> , — <i>b</i> , — <i>ng</i>	(2)
- <i>kwi</i>	/ — <i>dim</i> , — <i>ding</i>	
- <i>kwi</i>	/ — <i>nim</i>	(3)
- <i>kun</i>	/ elsewhere	
{- <i>kwan</i> }	future perfect relative/remote future tense	
- <i>kwa</i>	/ — <i>n</i> , — <i>m</i> , — <i>y</i>	(6, 7)
- <i>kwam</i>	/ — <i>w</i> , — <i>ny</i>	(8, 9)
- <i>kwan</i>	/ elsewhere	
{- <i>an</i> }	(plu)perfect relative tense	
- <i>a</i>	/ —nasals	(11, 12)
- <i>an</i>	/ elsewhere	
{- <i>nu</i> }	continuous tense	
- <i>ru</i>	/ — <i>m</i> , — <i>t</i> , — <i>r</i>	(14)
- <i>n</i>	/ — <i>d</i>	(15)
- <i>nu</i>	/ elsewhere	

2.7.3 Incomplete aspect marker in tense-aspect suffixes

The {-*ma*} suffix marks an incomplete aspect, expressing that an action took place earlier on or will take place in the future, but its result is current at the point of reference. Therefore this morpheme is very common and acts as a feature of narrative discourse. Heesch (1978:27) formulates the function of a similar morpheme in Eipo with these words:

'The subject does not focus on the end or beginning of a state, process or action: the subject is participating in, and has sensual experience of the states, processes, and action which are seen from the standpoint of the subject engaged.'

This suffix can fill the third column of the third tagmeme, i.e. the tense-aspect suffix marker tagmeme (cf. 2.15).

- e.g. 1. *sun* ∞ *bo-bulub-yan-kwab-ma-rurum*
 they wood carry-gather-come-2fut t-incompAsp-2dl
 'They two will come in a while carrying the firewood they gathered'
2. *kan-ci* *er-siy* *a* ∞ *deyb-dob-mo-ma-do*
 you-ERG he-DAT that wood deposit-causVc-incompAsp-2sg2pst t-intrMode
 'Did you cause him to put down that firewood this morning/yesterday?'
3. *er* *ambutum* *Sumtamon* *dam* *bin-mo*
 she yesterday Sumtamon place go-incompAsp-3sg2pst t
 'She went yesterday to the Sumtamon area'
4. *ni* *uram* *cang* *e-ab-mo-ne*
 I story long tell-durAsp-incompAsp-1sg2pst t
 'I was telling a long story this morning/yesterday'

Morphophonemic rules: Regressive assimilation occurs in the following examples:

{-ma}	incomplete Aspect	
-mo	/ —nasals, —b, —o	(2, 3)
-man	/ —d	
-ma	/ elsewhere	

2.8 Undergoer/scope/beneficiary pronoun suffixes

In Una a set of undergoer/scope/beneficiary pronoun suffixes filling the fourth verb tagmeme indicates: (1) the **undergoer**, i.e. the person or persons undergoing the action, or (2) the **scope**, i.e. the direction or the goal toward or away from which the action is directed, or (3) the **benefactee**, i.e. the person(s) receiving/benefitting from the action. These categories depend on the context in which the verb occurs. The suffixes, which indicate the personal objects, distinguish between singular and plural categories (cf. Figure 8). All plural suffixes are alike, and the singular categories are marked for first and second person singular and unmarked for third person singular:

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1	-nV	-sV
2	-kV	-sV
3	\emptyset	-sV

Figure 8. Object suffix matrix

Meaning of U/ScBen morphemes:

-nV	'Me, for me, toward me'
-kV	'You, for you, toward you'
-sV	'Us/you(pl)/them, for us/you(pl)/them, toward us/you(pl)/them'

Note: V stands either for -u in the imperative, polite imperative, and hortative modes, or for the vowel of the following syllable, or for -i elsewhere. With transitive verbs these pronouns have a direct object/undergoer function, and with intransitive verbs an indirect object, benefactive, or locational/scope function.

As undergoer suffix:

1. *er-ci ni ob-ma-ni-r*
he-ERG me hurt-incompAsp-1sgU-3sg pr t
'He hurts me'
2. *ni-kwit ni kan-torok se-kwan-ki-n*
my-friend I your-boil cut-3fut t-2sgU-1sg
'My friend, I will make an incision in your boil'
3. *kan er-siy mar bi-kwan-Ø-dim-do*
you him-DAT arrow penetrate-3fut t-3sgU-2sg-intrMode
'Are you going to penetrate him with arrows?'
4. *sun-lonceng nun-siy neb-ma-si-r*
their-bell us-DAT call-incompAsp-1plU-3sg pr t
'Their bell calls us'
5. *Yuwan beji er-bisam den luru*
Yuwan ERG his-pigs testicles
tob-ma-Ø-r
castrate-incompAsp-nonhuman-3sgU-3sg prt t
'Yuwan castrates his pigs'

As scope suffix:

6. *er kir anaboka dey-b-n-ey*
she spell going out deposit-1sgSc-avolMode
'She will go out and cast a spell on me!'
7. *a ner Lukun dam aji kuboka yan-ma-ki-r*
that woman Lukun village from being come-incompAsp-2sgSc-3sg pr t
'That woman comes to you from Lukun'
8. *kan-ci nun miyliyb-su-rum*
you-ERG us follow-1plSc-2sg2ImpMode
'You(sg) follow us!'

As beneficiary suffix:

9. *er a kwaning deyb-ma-ni-r*
he that sweet potato deposit-incompAsp-1sgBen-3sg pr t
'He lays down that sweet potato for me'
10. *ni ∅ kwaknimne bob-ma-ki-n*
I firewood bundle carry-incompAsp-2sgBen-1sg pr t
'I carry the bundle of firewood for you'
11. *sun lonceng nun-siy dek-ma-si-ng*
they bell us-Ben buy-incompAsp-1plBen-3pl pr t
'They buy a bell for us'
12. *ni-ji sun-siy a kwaning kiykliyb-si-n*
I-ERG you(pl)/them-Ben these sweet potatoes weigh-2pl/3plBen-1sg pr t
'I weigh these sweet potatoes for you(pl)/them'
13. *Er Yesus beji nun-malyi diynyi kiyliyb-ma-s-ow*
he Jesus ERG our-bad deeds clean-incompAsp-1plU-3sg3pst t
deyok aji nun-kaynya lo-ran-si-r
reason ERG our-souls free-cont t-1plU-3sg
'(Because) Jesus cleansed us from our sins, (therefore) our souls are made free/liberated'

Morphophonemic rules: Regressive noncontiguous assimilation in the form of Vowel harmony occurs when *V* is followed by *-u* as in example 8:

- {-i-} *V*
-u / — *Cu* (ImpAsp) (8)
-i / elsewhere

Vowel reduction occurs in example 13:

[[kiyliybmasiow]] → *kiyliybmasow*

Non-contiguous metathesis and deletion occurs in example 6:

[[deybnine]] → *deybney*

2.9 Mode 1 suffixes

The {-*ti*} suffix marks a desiderative or hypothetical mode expressing the result in case an action happens or indicating a desire to act. This morpheme is homophonous with the aptative aspect marker (cf. 2.7.1.5). Besides the hypothetical or desiderative suffixes this fifth verb tagmeme (cf. 2.15) can be filled by the imperative, polite imperative, and hortative or deliberative mode suffixes {-*du*} indicating respectively a command, a polite command or an exhortation, and an encouragement or suggestion.

A. Desiderative mode suffix:

1. *ni yib-ti-nyi*
I eat-desMode-1sg pr t
'I like to eat'
2. *nun mab-tey-byi*
We sleep-desMode-1pl pr t
'We like to sleep'

B. Hypothetical mode suffix:

1. *kan atam kun-ma-t-umura,* *er kum dib-ti*
you here be-incompAsp-hypMode-2sg-depPreAsp he not die-hypMode
'If you had been here, he would not have died'
2. *'Ni: A-nyi kum bing-nu-n eb-ti-ny-ura,*
I that-fellow not know-cont t-1sg say-hypMode-1sg-depPreAsp

ni tola e-nanyi ku-ran-ti-nyi
I lie speak-person be-contAsp-hypMode-1sg
'If I say that I don't know that fellow, then I am a liar'

C. Imperative mode suffix:

1. *ni er-ay bi-nu-n*
I his-hut go-ImpMode-1sg
'I must go to his hut'
2. *atam buk-du-m*
there sit-1ImpMode-2sg
'You sit down there!'

D. Polite imperative mode suffix:

1. *er a deyok eb-du-r*
he that topic speak-polImpMode-3sg
'He should speak up about that topic (if he likes to)'
2. *sun ereyanci diyksum niyja luknub-deyb-darut*
you high spot all level-transVc-2plpolImpMode
'You should level off all high spots(if you like it)'

E. Hortative mode suffix:

1. *ur eb-ru-m*
O.K. speak-hortMode-2sg
'Could you please speak?'
2. *ur buk-du-m*
it's O.K. sit-hortMode2sg
'Could you please sit down?'

Morphophonemic rules: Regressive assimilation occurs in the following examples:

- {-du} (polite) imperative/hortative infix
 -nu / —nasals, —b (C1) (cf. 2.9.1.1)
 -du / elsewhere

Vowel reduction occurs in B1 and B2: [[*kunmatiumura*]] → *kunmatumura* and:
 [[*ebtinyura*]] → *ebtinyura*

2.9.1 Imperative mode inflection

The imperative mode of an independent sentence final verb contrasts an unmarked immediate tense with a marked near, regular, or remote deferred tense. The imperative mode verb can be specified either with a continuous tense, or incomplete aspect marker.

In the following verb paradigms suffixation of the three basic verb root classes, i.e. verb roots with final *-k*, *-n* or *-b* (all of which are deleted or changed in certain environments), will be displayed.

Una verb subject combinations, which denote person and number (cf. Figure 9), cannot always be easily segmented. This is a common phenomenon in Irian Jaya - New Guinea highland languages as has been described for other languages in this area. Deibler (1976:25-34) has attempted segmentation of the verb subject combinations and described in detail the patterns they show. However, presentation of compound suffix sets, including these subject indicators, have been preferred by the majority of analysts above segmentation of these combinations (see Deibler, 1976:23 op. cit., fn.10; Bromley, 1972: Appendix A, etc.). Therefore we will give paradigms throughout the work to illustrate the allomorphic variations of these morphemes. Glosses will be omitted from the paradigms. Just one identifying gloss of verb roots and for labelling of inflectional categories will be given; the rest are self-explanatory.

However, Figure 9 shows that the use of a matrix segmentation is helpful in illuminating the differences between the morphemes. Certain patterns show up in this basic analysis of the nine distinct suffixes:

Number	PERSON		
	1	2	3
sg	<i>nun</i>	<i>d/rum</i>	<i>d/rur</i>
dl	<i>nunum</i>	<i>d/rurum</i>	<i>d/rurung</i>
pl	<i>nub/m</i>	<i>darut</i>	<i>nung</i>

Figure 9. Imperative mode suffix matrix

A sub-analysis of the above matrix shows, for example, the patterns of Figure 10:

Number	PERSON		
	1	2	3
sg			
dl			
pl			

ub darut n ung

Figure 10. Subject suffix combination patterns

Presentation of sub-analyses of obvious partials and patterns reflected in the basic subject suffix combinations is desirable, since comparison with other sets most certainly will reveal interesting patterns which are not obvious from the paradigms. However, this will not be attempted here, but described in another paper since it falls outside the main scope of this work.

2.9.1.1 Immediate imperative mode

	'sit'	'go'	'speak'
1sg	<i>buknun</i>	<i>binun</i>	<i>ebnun</i>
2sg	<i>bukdum</i>	<i>birum</i>	<i>ebrum</i>
3sg	<i>bukdur</i>	<i>birur</i>	<i>ebdur</i>
1dl	<i>buknunum</i>	<i>binunum</i>	<i>ebnunum</i>
2dl	<i>bukdurum</i>	<i>birurum</i>	<i>ebdurum</i>
3dl	<i>bukdurung</i>	<i>birurung</i>	<i>ebdurung</i>
1pl	<i>buknub</i>	<i>binub</i>	<i>ebnub</i>
2pl	<i>buk darut</i>	<i>bin darut</i>	<i>eb darut</i>
3pl	<i>buknung</i>	<i>binung</i>	<i>ebnung</i>

'Sit down/go/speak up right now!'

2.9.1.2 Near deferred tense imperative mode

1sg	<i>buknunun</i>	<i>binkunun</i>	<i>ebkunun</i>
2sg	<i>bukundum</i>	<i>binkundum</i>	<i>ebkundum</i>
3sg	<i>bukundur</i>	<i>binkundur</i>	<i>ebkundur</i>
1dl	<i>buknununum</i>	<i>binkununum</i>	<i>ebkununum</i>
2dl	<i>bukundurum</i>	<i>binkundurum</i>	<i>ebkundurum</i>
3dl	<i>bukundurung</i>	<i>binkundurung</i>	<i>ebkundurung</i>
1pl	<i>bukunub</i>	<i>binkunub</i>	<i>ebkunub</i>
2pl	<i>bukundarut</i>	<i>binkundarut</i>	<i>ebkundarut</i>
3pl	<i>bukunung</i>	<i>binkunung</i>	<i>ebkunung</i>

'Sit down/go/speak up!'

2.9.1.3 Regular deferred tense imperative mode

1sg	<i>bukwamanun</i>	<i>binkwamanun</i>	<i>ebkwamanun</i>
2sg	<i>bukwamarum</i>	<i>binkwamarum</i>	<i>ebkwamarum</i>
3sg	<i>bukwamarut</i>	<i>binkwamarut</i>	<i>ebkwamarut</i>
1dl	<i>bukwamanunum</i>	<i>binkwamanunum</i>	<i>ebkwamanunum</i>
2dl	<i>bukwamarurum</i>	<i>binkwamarurum</i>	<i>ebkwamarurum</i>
3dl	<i>bukwamarurung</i>	<i>binkwamarurung</i>	<i>ebkwamarurung</i>
1pl	<i>bukwamanub</i>	<i>binkwamanub</i>	<i>ebkwamanub</i>
2pl	<i>bukwamandarut</i>	<i>binkwamandarut</i>	<i>ebkwamandarut</i>
3pl	<i>bukwamanung</i>	<i>binkwamanung</i>	<i>ebkwamanung</i>

'Sit down/go/speak in a while'

2.9.1.4 Remote deferred tense imperative mode

1sg	<i>bukwanun</i>	<i>binkwanun</i>	<i>ebkwanun</i>
2sg	<i>bukwandum</i>	<i>binkwandum</i>	<i>ebkwandum</i>
3sg	<i>bukwandur</i>	<i>binkwandur</i>	<i>ebkwandur</i>
1dl	<i>bukwanunum</i>	<i>binkwanunum</i>	<i>ebkwanunum</i>
2dl	<i>bukwandurum</i>	<i>binkwandurum</i>	<i>ebkwandurum</i>
3dl	<i>bukwandurung</i>	<i>binkwandurung</i>	<i>ebkwandurung</i>
1pl	<i>bukwanub</i>	<i>binkwanub</i>	<i>ebkwanub</i>
2pl	<i>bukwandarut</i>	<i>binkwandarut</i>	<i>ebkwandarut</i>
3pl	<i>bukwanung</i>	<i>binkwanung</i>	<i>ebkwanung</i>

'Sit down/go/speak later on'

2.9.1.5 Continuous tense imperative mode

1sg	<i>buranun</i>	<i>baranun</i>	<i>eranun</i>
2sg	<i>burandum</i>	<i>barandum</i>	<i>erandum</i>
3sg	<i>burandut</i>	<i>barandut</i>	<i>erandut</i>
1dl	<i>buranunum</i>	<i>baranunum</i>	<i>eranunum</i>
2dl	<i>burandurum</i>	<i>barandurum</i>	<i>erandurum</i>
3dl	<i>burandurung</i>	<i>barandurung</i>	<i>erandurung</i>
1pl	<i>buranub</i>	<i>baranub</i>	<i>eranub</i>
2pl	<i>burandarut</i>	<i>barandarut</i>	<i>erandarut</i>
3pl	<i>buranung</i>	<i>baranung</i>	<i>eranung</i>

'Sit down/go tell continually'

2.10 Tense-actor suffixes

In the preceding sections the voice, tense-aspect, personal object and some mode markers were described and the formal elements corresponding with the specific

meaning analyzed. In this section the tense-actor marker which can fill the sixth tagmeme slot (cf. 2.15) will be described. In some cases the phonological fusion of these morphemes has progressed to the degree that partials are difficult to define and describe as such. In those cases we will treat them as portmanteau. As stated in 2.9.1, this treatment as portmanteau of partials and patterns reflected in the subject suffix portmanteau is not completely satisfying, but has to do for now since the necessary sub-analysis falls outside the main scope of this work. It is planned to describe the sub-analysis of subject suffix portmanteaus in another paper. If individual morphemes can be identified, we will treat them as a compound. The criteria to distinguish the tense-actor suffixes from one another are in the form of the following seven triplets:

- Triplet 1. First, second and third person
- Triplet 2. Singular, dual and plural
- Triplet 3. Past, present and future tense
- Triplet 4. Remote, regular and near past tense

Those morphemes distinguish between actions which took place respectively at a relatively remote time before the speech event but minimally two days, and usually several weeks or months ago, versus 8 - 48 hours ago, versus just a while ago. The time threshold of contrast is somewhat flexible between the specific tenses, depending on the viewpoint of the narrator about the relative length of time elapsed between the narrated event and the speech event.

- Triplet 5. Near, regular and remote future tense

These distinguish between actions which will take place right now, versus in a while, versus later on in the future, respectively. Here too, as with the past tenses, the time threshold is somewhat flexible.

- Triplet 6. Perfect, pluperfect and future perfect relative tense

These distinguish between a prior action in relation to the present, versus a prior action in relation to the past, versus a prior action in relation to the future, respectively.

The tense-actor suffixes are normally used in combination with one of the following three aspects:

- Triplet 7. Completive, incomplete or continuous aspect

These distinguish the point of focus of the subject on a past or future action, depending on whether the result is, or is not, current at the point of reference, or is a continuous action. The incomplete aspect suffix {-ma} in combination with the tense-actor suffix is normally used in narrative discourse because it describes an event which happened at a previous time, but which is still relevant to the narrator or his/her audience and therefore viewed as an incomplete event.

The tense-actor suffixes can be grouped in three categories according to their morphological form:

Category I. Past tenses including:

1. remote past tense (3pst t)
2. regular past tense (2pst t)
3. near past tense (1pst t)
4. pluperfect relative tense (pluperf rel t)
5. future perfect relative tense (fut perf rel t)

Category II. Present and future tenses including:

1. present tense (pr t)
2. future tense (fut t)
3. perfect relative tense (perf rel t)

Category III. Continuous tense (cont t)

Note: In the tense-actor suffix matrix (Figure 11) braces are put around the regularized form to indicate what morpheme is being symbolized without attention to the well-defined, regular alternants of pronunciation. In this way, we will temporarily ignore low-level complexities in order to concentrate on a higher layer of structure.

The basic suffixes of Figure 11 can be converted into the surface suffixes by means of morphophonemic rules (cf. 1.5).

	CATEGORY I	CATEGORY II	CATEGORY III
1sg	{-ne}	-ne	-n
2sg	{-uma}	{-dim}	-m
3sg	{-wa}	{-de}	-t
1dl	{-numa}	-nim	-num
2dl	{-duruma}	{-durum}	-rum
3dl	{-dungwa}	{-ding}	-rung
1pl	{-ubwa}	{-b}	-b
2pl	-daw	{-dum}	-darut
3pl	{-ungwa}	{-ng}	-ng

Figure 11. Tense-Actor Suffixes

2.10.1 Category I: Past tenses

2.10.1.1 Remote past tense complete aspect (3pst t)

	Class I	Class II	Class III
	<i>buk-</i> 'to sit'	<i>bin-</i> 'to go'	<i>eb-</i> 'to say'
1sg	<i>bukse</i>	<i>bise</i>	<i>ebse</i>
2sg	<i>bukuma</i>	<i>bima</i>	<i>ebuma</i>
3sg	<i>bukwa</i>	<i>bew</i>	<i>ebwa</i>
1dl	<i>buknuma</i>	<i>binuma</i>	<i>ebnuma</i>
2dl	<i>bukduruma</i>	<i>biruruma</i>	<i>ebruruma</i>
3dl	<i>bukdey</i>	<i>birey</i>	<i>ebrey</i>
1pl	<i>bukowbwa</i>	<i>bibwa</i>	<i>ebowbwa</i>
2pl	<i>bukdaw</i>	<i>bindaw</i>	<i>ebdaw</i>
3pl	<i>bukyi</i>	<i>bey</i>	<i>ebyi</i>

'I did sit/go/say two days or longer ago'

2.10.1.2 Remote past tense incomplete aspect (3pst t)

1sg	<i>bukmase</i>	<i>binmase</i>	<i>ebmase</i>
2sg	<i>bukmoma</i>	<i>binmoma</i>	<i>ebmoma</i>
3sg	<i>bukmow</i>	<i>binmow</i>	<i>ebmow</i>
1dl	<i>bukmanuma</i>	<i>binmanuma</i>	<i>ebmanuma</i>
2dl	<i>bukmarurum</i>	<i>binmarurum</i>	<i>ebmarurum</i>
3dl	<i>bukmarey</i>	<i>binmarey</i>	<i>ebmarey</i>
1pl	<i>bukmowbwa</i>	<i>binmowbwa</i>	<i>ebmowbwa</i>
2pl	<i>bukmandaw</i>	<i>binmandaw</i>	<i>ebmandaw</i>
3pl	<i>bukmay</i>	<i>binmay</i>	<i>ebmay</i>

'I sat/went/said two days or longer ago'

2.10.1.3 Remote past tense continuous aspect (3pst t)

1sg	<i>buranse</i>	<i>baranse</i>	<i>eranse</i>
2sg	<i>buramuma</i>	<i>baramuma</i>	<i>eramuma</i>
3sg	<i>buramwa</i>	<i>baramwa</i>	<i>eramwa</i>
1dl	<i>buranuma</i>	<i>baranuma</i>	<i>eranuma</i>
2dl	<i>burandurum</i>	<i>barandurum</i>	<i>erandurum</i>
3dl	<i>burandey</i>	<i>barandey</i>	<i>erandey</i>
1pl	<i>buramowbwa</i>	<i>baramowbwa</i>	<i>eramowbwa</i>
2pl	<i>burandaw</i>	<i>barandaw</i>	<i>erandaw</i>
3pl	<i>buramnyi</i>	<i>baramnyi</i>	<i>eramnyi</i>

'I was sitting/going/saying two days or longer ago'

2.10.1.4 Regular past tense complete aspect (2pst t)

1sg	<i>bukne</i>	<i>bine</i>	<i>ebne</i>
2sg	<i>bukuma</i>	<i>bime</i>	<i>ebuma</i>
3sg	<i>bukwa</i>	<i>bew</i>	<i>ebwa</i>
1dl	<i>buknuma</i>	<i>binuma</i>	<i>ebnuma</i>
2dl	<i>bukduruma</i>	<i>biruruma</i>	<i>ebururuma</i>
3dl	<i>bukdungwa</i>	<i>birungwa</i>	<i>ebungwa</i>
1pl	<i>bukubwa</i>	<i>bibwa</i>	<i>ebubwa</i>
2pl	<i>bukdaw</i>	<i>bindaw</i>	<i>ebdaw</i>
3pl	<i>bukungwa</i>	<i>bingwa</i>	<i>ebungwa</i>

'I did sit/go/say this morning/yesterday'

2.10.1.5 Regular past tense incomplete aspect (2pst t)

1sg	<i>bukmone</i>	<i>binmone</i>	<i>ebmone</i>
2sg	<i>bukmoma</i>	<i>binmoma</i>	<i>ebmoma</i>
3sg	<i>bukmo</i>	<i>binmo</i>	<i>ebmo</i>
1dl	<i>bukmanuma</i>	<i>binmanuma</i>	<i>ebmanuma</i>
2dl	<i>bukmaruruma</i>	<i>binmaruruma</i>	<i>ebmaruruma</i>
3dl	<i>bukmarungwa</i>	<i>binmarungwa</i>	<i>ebmarungwa</i>
1pl	<i>bukmobwa</i>	<i>binmobwa</i>	<i>ebmobwa</i>
2pl	<i>bukmandaw</i>	<i>binmandaw</i>	<i>ebmandaw</i>
3pl	<i>bukmongwa</i>	<i>binmongwa</i>	<i>ebmongwa</i>

'I sat/went/said this morning/yesterday'

2.10.1.6 Regular past tense continuous aspect (2pst t)

1sg	<i>bukanwe</i>	<i>binanwe</i>	<i>eanwe</i>
2sg	<i>bukamuma</i>	<i>binamuma</i>	<i>eamuma</i>
3sg	<i>bukamwa</i>	<i>binamwa</i>	<i>eamwa</i>
1dl	<i>bukanuma</i>	<i>binanuma</i>	<i>eanuma</i>
2dl	<i>bukanduruma</i>	<i>binanduruma</i>	<i>eanduruma</i>
3dl	<i>bukandungwa</i>	<i>binandungwa</i>	<i>eandungwa</i>
1pl	<i>bukamubwa</i>	<i>binamubwa</i>	<i>eanubwa</i>
2pl	<i>bukandaw</i>	<i>binandaw</i>	<i>eandaw</i>
3pl	<i>bukamungwa</i>	<i>binamungwa</i>	<i>eamungwa</i>

'I was sitting/going/saying this morning/yesterday'

2.10.1.7 Near past tense complete aspect (1pst t)

1sg	<i>bunwe</i>	<i>binwe</i>	<i>enwe</i>
2sg	<i>buma</i>	<i>bima</i>	<i>ema</i>
3sg	<i>buw</i>	<i>biw</i>	<i>ew</i>
1dl	<i>bunuma</i>	<i>binuma</i>	<i>enuma</i>
2dl	<i>bururuma</i>	<i>biruruma</i>	<i>eruruma</i>
3dl	<i>burungwa</i>	<i>birungwa</i>	<i>erungwa</i>
1pl	<i>bubwa</i>	<i>bibwa</i>	<i>ebwa</i>
2pl	<i>bundaw</i>	<i>bindaw</i>	<i>endaw</i>
3pl	<i>bungwa</i>	<i>bingwa</i>	<i>engwa</i>

'I did sit/go/say just a while ago'

2.10.1.8 Near past tense incomplete aspect (1pst t)

1sg	<i>bukabne</i>	<i>binabne</i>	<i>eabne</i>
2sg	<i>bukabuma</i>	<i>binabuma</i>	<i>eabuma</i>
3sg	<i>bukabwa</i>	<i>binabwa</i>	<i>eabwa</i>
1dl	<i>bukabnuma</i>	<i>binabnuma</i>	<i>eabnuma</i>
2dl	<i>bukabduruma</i>	<i>binabduruma</i>	<i>eabduruma</i>
3dl	<i>bukabdungwa</i>	<i>binabdungwa</i>	<i>eabdungwa</i>
1pl	<i>bukabubwa</i>	<i>binabubwa</i>	<i>eabubwa</i>
2pl	<i>bukabdaw</i>	<i>binabdaw</i>	<i>eabdaw</i>
3pl	<i>bukabungwa</i>	<i>binabungwa</i>	<i>eabungwa</i>

'I sat/went/said just a while ago'

2.10.1.9 Near past tense continuous aspect (1pst t)

1sg	<i>bukabnetok</i>	<i>binabnetok</i>	<i>eabnetok</i>
2sg	<i>bukabumatok</i>	<i>binabumatok</i>	<i>eabumatok</i>
3sg	<i>bukabwatok</i>	<i>binabwatok</i>	<i>eabwatok</i>
1dl	<i>bukabnumatok</i>	<i>binabnumatok</i>	<i>eabnumatok</i>
2dl	<i>bukabdurumatok</i>	<i>binabdurumatok</i>	<i>eabdurumatok</i>
3dl	<i>bukabdungwatok</i>	<i>binabdungwatok</i>	<i>eabdungwatok</i>
1pl	<i>bukabubwatok</i>	<i>binabubwatok</i>	<i>eabubwatok</i>
2pl	<i>bukabdawtok</i>	<i>binabdawtok</i>	<i>eabdawtok</i>
3pl	<i>bukabungwatok</i>	<i>binabungwatok</i>	<i>eabungwatok</i>

'I was sitting/saying just a while ago'

2.10.1.10 Pluperfect relative tense (pluperf rel t)

1sg	<i>bukanse</i>	<i>binanse</i>	<i>eanse</i>
2sg	<i>bukamuma</i>	<i>binamuma</i>	<i>eamuma</i>
3sg	<i>bukamwa</i>	<i>binamwa</i>	<i>eamwa</i>

1dl	<i>bukanuma</i>	<i>binanuma</i>	<i>eanuma</i>
2dl	<i>bukanduruma</i>	<i>binanduruma</i>	<i>eanduruma</i>
3dl	<i>bukandey</i>	<i>binandey</i>	<i>eandey</i>
1pl	<i>bukamowbwa</i>	<i>binamowbwa</i>	<i>eamowbwa</i>
2pl	<i>bukandaw</i>	<i>binandaw</i>	<i>eandaw</i>
3pl	<i>bukamnyi</i>	<i>binamnyi</i>	<i>eamnyi</i>

'I had sat down/gone/said'

2.10.1.11 Future perfect relative tense (fut perf rel t)

1sg	<i>bukwanse</i>	<i>binkwanse</i>	<i>ebkwanse</i>
2sg	<i>bukwamuma</i>	<i>binkwamuma</i>	<i>ebkwamuma</i>
3sg	<i>bukwamwa</i>	<i>binkwamwa</i>	<i>ebkwamwa</i>
1dl	<i>bukwanuma</i>	<i>binkwanuma</i>	<i>ebkwanuma</i>
2dl	<i>bukwandey</i>	<i>binkwandey</i>	<i>ebkwandey</i>
3dl	<i>bukwanding</i>	<i>binkwanding</i>	<i>ebkwanding</i>
1pl	<i>bukwamowbwa</i>	<i>binkwamowbwa</i>	<i>ebkwamowbwa</i>
2pl	<i>bukwandaw</i>	<i>binkwandaw</i>	<i>ebkwandaw</i>
3pl	<i>bukwamnyi</i>	<i>binkwamnyi</i>	<i>ebkwamnyi</i>

'I will have sat down/be gone/have said'

2.10.2 Category II: Present and future tense suffixes

2.10.2.1 Present tense complete aspect (maximum four hours past) (pr t)

1sg	<i>bun</i>	<i>bin</i>	<i>en</i>
2sg	<i>burim</i>	<i>birim</i>	<i>erim</i>
3sg	<i>bur</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>er</i>
1dl	<i>bunim</i>	<i>binim</i>	<i>enim</i>
2dl	<i>bururum</i>	<i>birurum</i>	<i>erurum</i>
3dl	<i>buring</i>	<i>biring</i>	<i>ering</i>
1pl	<i>bub</i>	<i>bib</i>	<i>eb</i>
2pl	<i>burum</i>	<i>birum</i>	<i>erum</i>
3pl	<i>bung</i>	<i>bing</i>	<i>eng</i>

'I sit/go/say'

2.10.2.2 Present tense incomplete aspect (pr t)

1sg	<i>bukman</i>	<i>binman</i>	<i>ebman</i>
2sg	<i>bukmarim</i>	<i>binmarim</i>	<i>ebmarim</i>
3sg	<i>bukmar</i>	<i>binmar</i>	<i>ebmar</i>

1dl	<i>bukmanim</i>	<i>binmanim</i>	<i>ebmanim</i>
2dl	<i>bukmarurum</i>	<i>binmarurum</i>	<i>ebmarurum</i>
3dl	<i>bukmaring</i>	<i>binmaring</i>	<i>ebmaring</i>
1pl	<i>bukmab</i>	<i>binmab</i>	<i>ebmab</i>
2pl	<i>bukmarum</i>	<i>binmarum</i>	<i>ebmarum</i>
3pl	<i>bukmang</i>	<i>binmang</i>	<i>ebmang</i>

'I sit/go/say'

2.10.2.3 Present tense continuous aspect (pr t)

1sg	<i>buran</i>	<i>baran</i>	<i>eran</i>
2sg	<i>burandim</i>	<i>barandim</i>	<i>erandim</i>
3sg	<i>burande</i>	<i>barande</i>	<i>erande</i>
1dl	<i>buranim</i>	<i>baranim</i>	<i>eranim</i>
2dl	<i>burandurum</i>	<i>barandurum</i>	<i>erandurum</i>
3dl	<i>buranding</i>	<i>baranding</i>	<i>eranding</i>
1pl	<i>buramib</i>	<i>baramib</i>	<i>eramib</i>
2pl	<i>burandum</i>	<i>barandum</i>	<i>erandum</i>
3pl	<i>buraming</i>	<i>baraming</i>	<i>eraming</i>

'I am sitting/going/saying'

2.10.2.4 Near future tense (lfut t)

1sg	<i>bukun</i>	<i>binkun</i>	<i>ebkun</i>
2sg	<i>bukwindim</i>	<i>binkwindim</i>	<i>ebkwindim</i>
3sg	<i>bukur</i>	<i>binkur</i>	<i>ebkur</i>
1dl	<i>bukwinim</i>	<i>binkwinim</i>	<i>ebkwinim</i>
2dl	<i>bukundurum</i>	<i>binkundurum</i>	<i>ebkundurum</i>
3dl	<i>bukwinding</i>	<i>binkwinding</i>	<i>ebkwinding</i>
1pl	<i>bukub</i>	<i>binkub</i>	<i>ebkub</i>
2pl	<i>bukundum</i>	<i>binkundum</i>	<i>ebkundum</i>
3pl	<i>bukung</i>	<i>binkung</i>	<i>ebkung</i>

'I will sit/go/say right now'

2.10.2.5 Regular future tense (2fut t)

1sg	<i>bukwabman</i>	<i>binkwabman</i>	<i>ebkwabman</i>
2sg	<i>bukwabmarim</i>	<i>binkwabmarim</i>	<i>ebkwabmarim</i>
3sg	<i>bukwabmar</i>	<i>binkwabmar</i>	<i>ebkwabmar</i>
1dl	<i>bukwabmanim</i>	<i>binkwabmanim</i>	<i>ebkwabmanim</i>
2dl	<i>bukwabmarurum</i>	<i>binkwabmarurum</i>	<i>ebkwabmarurum</i>
3dl	<i>bukwabmaring</i>	<i>binkwabmaring</i>	<i>ebkwabmaring</i>

1pl	<i>bukwabmab</i>	<i>binkwabmab</i>	<i>ebkwabmab</i>
2pl	<i>bukwabmarum</i>	<i>binkwabmarum</i>	<i>ebkwabmarum</i>
3pl	<i>bukwabmang</i>	<i>binkwabmang</i>	<i>ebkwabmang</i>

'I will sit/go/say in a while/shortly'

2.10.2.6 Remote future tense (3fut t)

1sg	<i>bukwan</i>	<i>binkwan</i>	<i>ebkwan</i>
2sg	<i>bukwandim</i>	<i>binkwandim</i>	<i>ebkwandim</i>
3sg	<i>bukwande</i>	<i>binkwande</i>	<i>ebkwande</i>
1dl	<i>bukwanim</i>	<i>binkwanim</i>	<i>ebkwanim</i>
2dl	<i>bukwandurum</i>	<i>binkwandurum</i>	<i>ebkwandurum</i>
3dl	<i>bukwanding</i>	<i>binkwanding</i>	<i>ebkwanding</i>
1pl	<i>bukwamib</i>	<i>binkwamib</i>	<i>ebkwamib</i>
2pl	<i>bukwandum</i>	<i>binkwandum</i>	<i>ebkwandum</i>
3pl	<i>bukwaming</i>	<i>binkwaming</i>	<i>ebkwaming</i>

'I will sit go say (later on)'

2.10.2.7 Perfect relative tense (perf rel t)

1sg	<i>bukan</i>	<i>binan</i>	<i>ean</i>
2sg	<i>bukandim</i>	<i>binandim</i>	<i>eandim</i>
3sg	<i>bukande</i>	<i>binande</i>	<i>eande</i>
1dl	<i>bukanim</i>	<i>binanim</i>	<i>eanim</i>
2dl	<i>bukandurum</i>	<i>binandurum</i>	<i>eandurum</i>
3dl	<i>bukanding</i>	<i>binanding</i>	<i>eanding</i>
1pl	<i>bukamib</i>	<i>binamib</i>	<i>eamib</i>
2pl	<i>bukandum</i>	<i>binandum</i>	<i>eandum</i>
3pl	<i>bukaming</i>	<i>binaming</i>	<i>eaming</i>

'I have sat down/gone/said'

2.10.3 Category III: Continuous tense suffixes

2.10.3.1 Continuous tense (cont t)

1sg	<i>bunun</i>	<i>banun</i>	<i>enun</i>
2sg	<i>burum</i>	<i>barum</i>	<i>erum</i>
3sg	<i>burut</i>	<i>barut</i>	<i>erut</i>
1dl	<i>bununum</i>	<i>banunum</i>	<i>enunum</i>
2dl	<i>bururum</i>	<i>barurum</i>	<i>erurum</i>
3dl	<i>bururung</i>	<i>barurung</i>	<i>erurung</i>

1pl	<i>bunub</i>	<i>banub</i>	<i>enub</i>
2pl	<i>bundarut</i>	<i>bandarut</i>	<i>endarut</i>
3pl	<i>bunung</i>	<i>banung</i>	<i>enung</i>

'I am sitting/going/saying always/continually'

2.10.4 Gender: human – nonhuman actor

The gender of the actor governs the verb tense-actor suffix. The referent is emically distinguished between human and nonhuman. Verbs with a nonhuman actor take only third person singular tense suffixes; while verbs with a human actor can take any of the tense-actor suffixes according to the governing referent.

Examples of nonhuman actors:

1. *∅ ilinto ting-nan-de*
trees many stand-contAsp-3sg pr t
'There are many trees'
2. *kwaning niyja nong mab-ma-r*
sweet potatoes all body lay-incompAsp-3sg pr t
'The sweet potatoes which are laying (there) are big'
3. *mutuk weyk buk-wa*
mountains huge sit-compAsp-3sg pr t
'There are many mountains'
4. *sungsunga ililto ku-ru-t*
dust much be-cont t-3sg
'There is a lot of dust'
5. *win weyk wiysiyb-kwan-de*
pandanus nuts many ripen-3fut-3sg
'The pandanus nuts will be ripe'
6. *keyl ililto ku-ru-t*
rocks many be-cont t-3sg
'There are many rocks'
7. *bisam nong weyk ne-ran-de*
pigs body big grow-contAsp-3sg pr t
'The pigs grow big/fat'
8. *emnanyi ililto yiba-ran-de*
pigeons many pass by-contAsp-3sg pr t
'Many pigeons pass by'

The following human actor examples are given for comparison:

9. *sun niynyi nong weyk ne-ram-ing*
they people body big grow-contAsp-3pl
'The people become fat'
10. *sekola mabwa ililto yiba-ram-ing*
school children many pass-contAsp-3pl
'Many school children pass by'

2.11 Dependent aspect suffixes

In Una a set of dependent aspect suffixes are the means used to keep track of the participants in the actions to indicate the identity or non-identity of the actors, and the kind of actions, and the relationships between verbs in sequence across clause root, clause, and sometimes sentence boundaries. They describe simultaneous, simultfactive, dependent anticipatory, and dependent preview aspects of actions. These dependent aspect suffixes fill the seventh verb tagmeme (cf. 2.15).

We will first present an overview of the switch-reference suffixes and their parameters as an introduction to the manner in which the Una speakers keep track of the various participants involved in the actions in a discourse before describing in more detail the specific dependent aspect suffixes.

In summary, switch-reference in Una proceeds by means of the sentence medial verbs and in one case (i.e. the potential mode suffix {-ca}) by means of the sentence final verb in combination with the sentence medial verb. These suffixes indicate whether or not the subject of the second of two successive clauses will be the same as the subject of the first.

The simultfactive aspect suffix *-bok* predicts a change of actor(s) of actions occurring at the same time. The simultaneous aspect suffix {-*iyjok*} marks actions occurring at the same time by the same actor(s). The dependent preview aspect suffixes *-ura*, *-uca* and *-obora* are used in free variation to indicate past consecutive actions, either by the same or different actors. The dependent anticipatory aspect suffixes {-*nyura*} and {-*nyobora*} are used in free variation to indicate the first of two future consecutive actions either by the same or different actors. The successive aspect suffix {-*iyji*} indicates a present action which precedes a future action expressed in the next clause, either by the same or different actors. The causal mode suffix {-*nyi*} indicates an action which precedes and expresses the cause of/grounds for an action by a different actor which is expressed by a verb in the following clause. The potential mode suffix {-*ca*} (which is the only dependent aspect suffix which occurs exclusively in sentence final position) refers back to the action expressed in the preceding clause in a dependent sentence medial verb with a dependent preview aspect suffix *-ura*, *-uca* or *-obora*. It indicates an action which very likely will happen as a result of the previous action, either by the same or different actors.

6. *nun eb-ma-b-urjok, bin-m-owbwa*
 we tell-incompAsp-3pst t-1pl-simultAsp go-incompAsp-3pst t-1pl
 'We walked while we told (that story)'
7. *sun ∅ kweb-ma-rey-cok,*
 they trees cut-incompAsp-3pst t-2dl-simultAsp
me yib-ma-rey
 water drink-incompAsp-3pst t-2dl
 'They two drank water while they cut trees'

Morphophonemic rules: Progressive assimilation occurs in examples:

{-iyjok}	while/whilst
-cok	/ —ey, —nasal (±a) (7)
-urjok	/ —owbwa (6)
-iyjok	/ elsewhere

Syncope causes the loss of word medial sounds in example 6:

[[ebmowbwaurjok]] → *ebmaburjok*

2.11.2 Simulfactive aspect suffix

The *-bok* suffix marks actions occurring at the same time by different actors and therefore functions as a switch reference marker. The dependent sentence medial verb is marked with the simulfactive aspect suffix and precedes an independent final verb in the next clause.

	'sit'	'eat'
1sg	<i>bukne-bok,</i>	(<i>er yinmar</i>)
2sg	<i>bukdim-bok,</i>	(<i>er yinmar</i>)
3sg	<i>bukde-bok,</i>	(<i>er yinmar</i>)
1dl	<i>buknim-bok,</i>	(<i>er yinmar</i>)
2dl	<i>bukdurum-bok,</i>	(<i>er yinmar</i>)
3dl	<i>bukding-bok,</i>	(<i>er yinmar</i>)
1pl	<i>buki-bok,</i>	(<i>er yinmar</i>)
2pl	<i>bukdum-bok,</i>	(<i>er yinmar</i>)
3pl	<i>buking-bok,</i>	(<i>er yinmar</i>)

'He eats while I sit'

'He eats while you sit' etc.

- e.g. 1. *ambutum ni-ner ton, ni ton, kwaning*
 yesterday my-wife and I and sweet potatoes
yi-n-ma-numa-bok,
 eat-momAsp-incompAsp-2pst t 1dl-simulfAsp

- urura yaw*
 airplane come-compAsp- 2pst t 3sg
 'Yesterday, while my wife and I ate sweet potatoes, the airplane arrived'
2. *ni ay buk-ma-ni-bok, sun ya-ng*
 I hut sit-incompAsp-pr t 1sg-simulfAsp they come-compAsp-pr t 3pl
 'They come while I am in my hut'
3. *nun Bomela mab-ma-bi-bok, Lukun mab-ma-bi-bok,*
 we Bomela sleep-incompAsp-pr t 1pl-simulfAsp Lukun
bay ku-n-ma-bi-bok, Er Yesus
 bush be-momAsp-incompAsp-pr t1pl-simulfAsp He Jesus
yan-kwan-de-do, nun walwal
 come-3fut t-3sg-intrMode we don't know
 'Will Jesus come while we stay overnight in Bomela, or in Lukun, or sleep in the bush? We don't know'
4. *Er Yesus tamuryan-ga-cura,*
 He Jesus return-(epenthesis)-depAntAsp
ni tali-ab-ni-bok,
 I hold-incompAsp-1sgU-simulfAsp
kan ukub-lob-kwan-ki-r-do
 you be like-causVc-3fut t-2sgU-3sg-IntrMode
 'When Jesus returns will I be holding on to Him and He leave you behind?'

Morphophonemic rule: Twin consonant reduction occurs in 1st ps pl:

[[buk-ib-bok]] → *bukibok* 'We sit while...'

2.11.3 Dependent anticipatory aspect suffix

The {-nyura} or {-nyobora} suffixes, which have exactly the same semantic meaning, are used interchangeably to mark the first of two future consecutive actions, either by the same or different actors. The dependent sentence medial verb is marked with the dependent anticipatory aspect suffix and precedes an independent sentence final verb in the next clause.

	'eat'	'come'
1sg	<i>yib-nyura,</i>	(<i>yankwan</i>)
2sg	<i>yibdim-nyura,</i>	(<i>yankwandim</i>)
3sg	<i>yib-cura,</i>	(<i>yankwande</i>)
1dl	<i>yibnim-nyura,</i>	(<i>yankwanim</i>)
2dl	<i>yibdurum-nyura,</i>	(<i>yankwandurum</i>)
3dl	<i>yibding-nyura,</i>	(<i>yankwanding</i>)
1pl	<i>yibib-yura,</i>	(<i>yankwamib / -yeb</i>)

2pl *yibmu-nyura,* (yankwandum)
 3pl *yibing-nyura,* (yankwaming)

'Having eaten, I will come'

'Having eaten, you will come' etc.

- e.g. 1. *ni emnanyi ob-nyura,* *yub-oka* *yib-kwa-yeb*
 I pigeon kill-1sg-depAntAsp roast-ing eat-3fut t-1pl
 'I, having killed a pigeon, we will roast and eat it'
2. *kan bay bi-mi-nyura,* *sun niynyi asiy ini-ya-ru-m*
 you outside go-2sg-depAntAsp they people NOM call-come-ImpMode-2sg
 'You, having gone outside, call and come here with the people'
3. *kan dang yub-min-nyura,* *yib-kwan-dim-do*
 you beans cook-2sg-depAntAsp eat-3fut t-2sg-IntrMode
 'You, having cooked the beans, will you eat them?'
4. *sorkob luk anab-cura,* *weleb-kwan-de*
 cucumber shoot appear-3sg-depAntAsp grow-3fut t-3sg
 'The shoot of the cucumber, having appeared, will grow tall'
5. *sun taleb-mu-nyura,* *bay donok-darut*
 you catch-2pl-depAntAsp outside throw-2pl-ImpMode
 'You, having caught (the pig) throw it outside!'

Morphophonemic rule: Progressive assimilation occurs as follows:

{-nyura}	=	{-nyobora}	having...
-cura	=	-cobora	/ [[[de]] → Ø]—
-yura	=	-yobora	/ b—
-nyura	=	-nyobora	/ elsewhere

2.11.4 Dependent preview aspect suffix

The *-ura*, *-uca*, *-obora* suffixes of dependent sentence medial verbs are used interchangeably to mark past consecutive actions, either by the same or different actors. The dependent clause root final verb is marked with the dependent preview aspect suffix and precedes an independent verb in the final clause. The dependent preview aspect can also be suffixed to a sentence initial verb, which reiterates the last clause of the preceding sentence.

	'eat'	'come'
1sg	<i>yibn-ura,</i>	(yanman/yanmar/etc.)
2sg	<i>yibdim-ura,</i>	(yanman/yanmar/)
3sg	<i>yibd-ura,</i>	(yanman/yanmar/)
1dl	<i>yibnim-ura</i>	(yanman/yanmar/)
2dl	<i>yibdurum-ura,</i>	(yanman/yanmar/)
3dl	<i>yibding-ura,</i>	(yanman/yanmar/)

1pl *yibib-ura,* (*yanman/yanmar/*)
 2pl *yibdum-ura,* (*yanman/yanmar/*)
 3pl *yibing-ura,* (*yanman/yanmar/*)

'Having eaten, I came/he came/ etc.'

- e.g. 1. *ni me yib-n-ura,* *bi-bwa*
 I water drink-2pst t-1sg-depPreAsp go-2pst t 1pl
 'I having drank the water, we went'
2. *Er ∅ utotowa kiknib-m-ow-ura,*
 He trees all kinds create-incompAsp-3pst t 3sg-depPreAsp
 una-nyi tentok ku-ram-wa-do
 who-person only be-contAsp-3pst t 3sg-IntrMode
 'He (God), having created trees and all kinds of things, who was the only male
 that existed?'
3. *er-ci er-ay niyja er-taruk aji cab-oka*
 he-ERG his-hut all his-hand INST touch-ing
 diybden-m-ow-uca, *utotowa kum*
 search-incompAsp-3pst t 3sg-depPreAsp all kind of things not
 eyb-m-ow
 find-incompAsp-3pst t 3sg
 'He, having searched her hut completely, didn't find anything'
4. *Er-ci a malyi deyok niyja lakeb-m-ow*
 he-ERG that bad topic all confess-incompAsp-3pst t 3sg
 Lakeb-m-ow-ura, *er-ci er-siy*
 confess-incompAsp-3pst t 3sg-depPreAsp he-ERG he-DAT
 yu kum kub-oka uram Teleb Uram etereb-m-ow.
 anger not be-AdvSuf story Good Story teach-incompAsp-3pst t 3sg
 Etere-b-m-ow-ura, ...
 teach-incompAsp-3pst t 3sg-depPreAsp
 'He confessed all his bad deeds. He, having confessed (it to him) was not angry
 at him, but taught him the Gospel. He, having taught, ...'

2.11.5 Successive aspect suffix

The {-*iyji*} suffix of a dependent sentence medial verb marks consecutive actions performed either by the same or different actors. The dependent clause root final verb describes a present action marked with the successive aspect suffix and precedes an independent sentence final verb which describes a future action in the next clause. The actor is already in the process of the action described in the dependent clause root final

verb, but has not yet completed the action. This is different from {-nyura} (cf. 2.11.3) since that suffix marks two future consecutive actions by the same or different actors.

	'sit'	'speak'
1sg	<i>bukn-iyji</i> ,	(<i>ebkwan/ebkwayeb, etc.</i>)
2sg	<i>bukmin-ci</i> ,	(<i>ebkwan/ebkwayeb,...</i>)
3sg	<i>bukd-iyji</i> ,	(<i>ebkwan/ebkwayeb,...</i>)
1dl	<i>buknim-iyji</i> ,	(<i>ebkwan/ebkwayeb,...</i>)
2dl	<i>bukdurum-ci</i> ,	(<i>ebkwan/ebkwayeb,...</i>)
3dl	<i>bukding-iyji</i> ,	(<i>ebkwan/ebkwayeb,...</i>)
1pl	<i>bukib-iyji</i> ,	(<i>ebkwan/ebkwayeb,...</i>)
2pl	<i>bukmun-ci</i> ,	(<i>ebkwan/ebkwayeb,...</i>)
3pl	<i>buking-iyji</i> ,	(<i>ebkwan/ebkwayeb,...</i>)

'After I sit/settle down, I will speak/we will speak/etc.'

1. *ni bin-iyji, kerek se-kwa-n*
I go-sucAsp paper write-3fut t-1sg
'After I go/depart (I am almost ready), I will write'
2. *sun, Ala uram eb-durum-ci, bin-kwam-ing*
you God talk speak-pr t-2dl-sucAsp go-3fut t-3pl
'After you two finish preaching, they will go to ...'
3. *nun bob-nim-iyji, bin-kwa-nim*
we carry-pr t-2dl-sucAsp go-3fut t-2dl
'After both of us finish carrying (that), we will go'
4. *nun yib-ni-miyji, mela me ili-kwan-ding*
we eat-pr t 1dl-sucAsp dishes water clean-3fut t-3dl
'After both of us finish eating, both of them will clean the dishes'
5. *kan diybde-min-ci, kerek sengna kwilik-c-ay*
you read-pr t 2sg-sucAsp paper writing tear-3sg-avolMode
'Watch it, after you finish reading the book it will be torn apart'

The grammatical rules governing the successive aspect suffix are as follows:

Person	Suffix
1st/3rd	-iyji
2nd	-ci

2.12 Mode 2 suffixes

In Una a set of mode 2 suffixes, which are mutually exclusive with the mode 1 infixes, mark the psychological atmosphere of an action as interpreted by the speaker. This eighth

verb tagmeme (cf. 2.15) can be filled with interrogative, avolitional, probabilitive, causal and hypothetical mode suffixes.

2.12.1 Interrogative mode suffix

The {-do} suffix marks an interrogative mode of an independent sentence final verb indicating a real or a rhetorical question. The interrogative mode suffix -da occurs sporadically in certain phonologically conditioned environments in free variation with -do.

- e.g. 1. *kan bu-kwan-dim-do*
 you sit-3fut t-2sg-intrMode
 'Will you sit down?'
 2. *sun Kerabuk bin-ma-ng-do*
 they Kerabuk go-incompAsp-prt 3pl-intrMode
 'Are they going to Kerabuk?'
 3. *er yan-ma-r-da*
 he come-incompAsp-prt 3sg-intrMode
 'Is he coming?'

Morphophonemic rules: Progressive assimilation results infrequently in vowel reduplication following *a-*, but is in free variation with -do.

{-do} question marker
 -do ~ -da / a—
 -do / elsewhere

2.12.2 Avolitional mode

The {-nyay} suffix of an independent sentence final verb indicates an undesirable action which will occur if a certain course of action continues.

	'sit'	'go'	'speak'
1sg	<i>buk-nyay</i>	<i>bi-nyay</i>	<i>eb-nyay</i>
2sg	<i>bukmi-nyay</i>	<i>bimi-nyay</i>	<i>ebmi-nyay</i>
3sg	<i>buk-cay</i>	<i>bi-cay</i>	<i>eb-cay</i>
1dl	<i>buknin-nyay</i>	<i>binim-nyay</i>	<i>ebnim-nyay</i>
2dl	<i>bukdurum-nyay</i>	<i>birurum-nyay</i>	<i>ebrurum-nyay</i>
3dl	<i>bukding-nyay</i>	<i>biring-nyay</i>	<i>ebring-nyay</i>
1pl	<i>bukib-yay</i>	<i>beyb-yay</i>	<i>ebib-yay</i>
2pl	<i>bukmu-nyay</i>	<i>bemu-nyay</i>	<i>ebmy-nyay</i>
3pl	<i>buking-nyay</i>	<i>bing-nyay</i>	<i>ebming-nyay</i>

'Watch it, lest you sit/go/speak!'

Morphophonemic rules: Progressive assimilation occurs in the 3sg and 1pl forms:

$ny \rightarrow \text{---}c / [[de]] \rightarrow \emptyset$

$[[buk-de-nyay]] \rightarrow buk\textit{cay}$

$ny \rightarrow y / \text{---}b$

$[[buk-ib-nyay]] \rightarrow bukib\textit{yay}$

Twin consonant reduction of *n* occurs in the 1sg form:

$C_1C_2 \rightarrow C_2$

$[[bin-nyay]] \rightarrow bin\textit{yay}$

Metathesis occurs in the 2sg form:

$[[bukimnyay]] \rightarrow bukmin\textit{yay}$

2.12.3 Probabilitive mode suffix

The probabilitive mode suffix *-darib* of an independent sentence final verb refers to actions predicted or ordered by the speaker.

e.g. 1. *er bin-kwan-de-darib*
 she go-3fut t-3sg-probAsp
 ‘She might go’

2. *sun ambutum Sentani dam aji kub-oka yan-kwa-ming-darib*
 they tomorrow Sentani place from be-AdvSuf come-3fut t-3pl-probAsp
 ‘Tomorrow they might come/arrive from Sentani’

3. *sun er-siy uram eb-kwan-ding-darib*
 they he-DAT story tell-3fut t-3dl-probAsp
 ‘They two might speak to him’

2.12.4 Causal mode suffix

The {-*nyi*} suffix indicates a verb describing an action which precedes and expresses the cause of/grounds for an action by a different actor which is expressed by a verb in the following clause:

	‘speak’	‘listen’
1sg	<i>eb-nyi,</i>	(<i>sun kekeraming</i>)
2sg	<i>ebming-nyi,</i>	(<i>sun kekeraming</i>)
3sg	<i>eb-ci,</i>	(<i>sun kekeraming</i>)
1dl	<i>ebnim-nyi,</i>	(<i>sun kekeraming</i>)
2dl	<i>ebdurum-nyi,</i>	(<i>sun kekeraming</i>)
3dl	<i>ebding-nyi,</i>	(<i>sun kekeraming</i>)
1pl	<i>ebib-yi,</i>	(<i>sun kekeraming</i>)

2pl	<i>ebmu-nyi,</i>	(<i>sun kekeraming</i>)
3pl	<i>ebing-nyi,</i>	(<i>sun kekeraming</i>)

'Because I speak, (therefore) they listen' etc.

Morphophonemic rule: Progressive assimilation occurs in the 3sg and 1pl forms:

{-nyi}	because ...
-ci	/ [[de]] → Ø—
-yi	/ b—
-nyi	/ elsewhere

2.12.5 Potential mode suffix

The {-ca} suffix of an independent sentence final verb indicates an action which very likely will happen as a result of the action described in the preceding clause. This marker refers to potential events. Those events might have happened in the past but did not. In that case the semantic opposition between potential mode and irrealis is neutralized. Alternatively, those events might still happen in the future but are not explicitly predicted or ordered by the speaker, in which case the semantic opposition of hypothetical mode to potential mode is neutralized. However, the hypothetical mode is marked obligatorily on both the dependent sentence medial and the independent sentence final verbs while the potential mode is marked by the {-ca} suffix only on the independent sentence final verb.

1sg	<i>eterebkwan-iyja</i>
2sg	<i>eterebkwandim-ca</i>
3sg	<i>eterebkwanda-rja</i>
1dl	<i>eterebkwanim-ca</i>
2dl	<i>eterebkwandurum-ca</i>
3dl	<i>eterebkwanding-ca</i>
1pl	<i>eterebkwayeb-ca</i>
2pl	<i>eterebkwandum-ca</i>
3pl	<i>eterebkwaming-ca</i>

'In case I will teach...'

- e.g. 1. *niynyi eterenansiranyi kan etereb-key-cura, kan-babyi neyktoto*
 people teacher you teach-2sgU-depAsp you-too likewise

sun niynyi etereb-kwan-dim-ca
 they people teach-3fut t-2sg-potMode

'In case the teacher trains you, you would be able to train others'

Morphophonemic rules: Progressive assimilation occurs as follows:

{-ca}	potential mode marker
-iyja	/ n —

-rja / V —
 -ca / elsewhere

2.13 Enclitics

Finally, the verbal complex can be modified by two types of enclitics denoting the exclusive nature of the action described in the independent sentence final verb, or the emphatic force of the expression. These enclitics can fill the ninth verb tagmeme (cf. 2.15.)

2.13.1 Emphatic mode

The augmentative or emphatic mode suffix *-e* indicates the emphatic force behind expressions which frequently occur around the peaks of discourse.

- e.g. 1. *yarum-e*
 come-1impMode 2sg-emphMode
2. a *er-wiyliynanyi yan-ma-r-e*
 that fellow his-interpreter come-incompAsp-3sg pr t-emphMode
 'That fellow comes along as his interpreter!'
3. *nun Langda tam bobre bin-kwa-yeb-e*
 we Langda village carry go-3fut t-1pl-emphMode
 'Let's carry that off to Langda!'
4. *a nundiynyi, doboka iyniyb-dob-kwa-yeb-e*
 that's ours, take hide-grab-3fut t-1pl-emphMode
 'That's ours, let's take and hide it!'

2.13.2 Exclusive aspect

The *-tok* suffix indicates the exclusiveness of the agent of the action, and might very well be derived from *tentok* 'only'.

- e.g. 1. *yan-ma-y-tok*
 come-incompAsp-3pl 3pst t-exclAsp
 'Only they came'
2. *nun atam buk-ma-numa-tok*
 we there sit-incompAsp-1dl 2pst t-exclAsp
 'Only we two sat there this morning/yesterday'
3. *sun Laji bin-ab-daw-tok*
 you Laji go-1pst t-2pl-exclAsp
 'Only you were going to Laji a while ago'

2.14 (Repetitive aspect) onomatopoeic verbs

Most of the verbs of onomatopoeia have to do with kinetics or bodily actions. The distinguishing feature of these verbs is that the first predicate filling the verb stem nucleus, represented by a verb root hyper class, has no inflection. This is followed obligatorily by the inflected verb root *eb-* 'to say/sound'. The repetitive aspect marks repetitions of mainly kinesic actions and occurs only in onomatopoeia. Both verb roots are joined under one stress of which the accent is on the first syllable of the last verb root, and therefore in the phonological sense comprises one word (cf. Louwerse, 1978b:72). However, for practical purposes it has been decided that the verb roots of the verbs of this class, with or without the repetitive aspect marker, will be written separately. The decision regarding this phenomenon, which is an instance of non-congruence of phonological and grammatical units, has been made in order to prevent very long elaborate words with a maximum of nine syllables, which unnecessarily would have complicated the literacy program.

The general linear structure of this verb is as follows:

$$(\text{Rep})\text{VStHC} = + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Pred1}} \mid \frac{\text{VRtHC}}{>\text{Tty}>} \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Rep}} \mid \frac{<\text{R}>}{>\text{Tty}>} + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Pred2}} \mid \frac{\{eb-\}}{>\text{Tty}>}$$

Figure 12

(1) Non-repetitive onomatopoeia

1. *urura kasok e-n-ma-r*
airplane cough sound-momAsp-incompAsp-3sg pr t
'(The engine of) the airplane coughs'
2. *kiring e-n-ma-r*
scratch sound-momAsp-incompAsp-3sg pr t
'It scratches'
3. *molang e-n-ma-r*
lick sound-momAsp-incompAsp-3sg pr t
'(The dog) licks (his wounds)'

(2) Repetitive onomatopoeia

1. *kan bir bir e-n-ma-rim*
you shiver shiver sound-momAsp-incompAsp-2sg pr
'You are shivering'
2. *kwakub kwakub e-n-ma-b*
turn turn say-momAsp-incompAsp-1pl pr t
'We are turning over and over again'

3. *Ningning er-ner siy Kiybto molong molong eb-oka*
 Ningning his-wife name Kiybto beat beat sound-ing
ob-m-ow
 hurt-incompAsp-3pst t 3sg
 'Ningning beat his wife Kiybto repeatedly'
4. *ururu er-uw bubar bubar e-n-ma-r*
 airplane his-nose turn turn say-momAsp-incompAsp-3sg pr t
 'The propeller of the airplane is turning'
5. *kan siy bambul mor mor e-n-ma-ki-r*
 your mouth covers quiver quiver say-momAsp-incompAsp-2sgU-3sg pr t
 'Your lips are quivering/vibrating'
6. *me dorak dorak e-n-ma-r*
 water drop drop say-momAsp-incompAsp-3sg pr t
 'The water is dripping'
7. *kiting ula kiyniym kiyniym e-n-ma-r*
 sun rays reflect reflect say-momAsp-incompAsp-3sg pr t
 '(The water) is reflecting the rays of the sun'
8. *kiting duk duk e-n-ma-r*
 sun heart heart say-momAsp-incompAsp-3sg pr t
 'Noon/The sun stands in zenith'

2.15 Summary of Una verb inflection

This section aims to present illustrative material as a summary of Una verb inflection. For a discussion of the section subdivisions see the appropriate sections. The following types of verb stem hyper classes can fill the first tagmeme of a verb:

2.3.1.1 A motion verb fills obligatorily the last slot in a verb stem hyper class with a maximum of three verb roots:

e.g. *bong-deyriyt-yan-ma-se*
 carry-deposit-come-incompAsp-1sg pr t
 'I come carrying in order to deposit'

2.3.1.2 A combination of two or three verb roots in a verb stem hyper class often carries the function of the intentional mode:

e.g. *bo-dongob-ma-r*
 carry-deliver-incompAsp-3sg pr t
 'Carry in order to deliver/Carry with the intention to deliver'

TAGMEME NO:	1	2	2	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
	VStHC			Cont	Impers	Pers	Asp	U	M.	Dep	Mode	
REFERENCE	Mar	VSt	Nuc	Ts	Vc	Vc	1	Sc	1	Asp	2	Clitic
								Ben				Name
2.3.1.1	bongdeyriy	tyan						ma		se		Motion V in VStHC
2.3.1.2	bo		dongob					ma		r		Intent M in VStHC
2.3.1.3	teleb					rob		ma		r		Verb.Adj. in VStHC
2.3.1.4	wiyniyr					iyb		ma		n		Verb.Num. in VStHC
2.4	e				na							VRtHC 1
2.4	eb							ma	ki	r	do	VRtHC 2
2.4	eb							ma	Ø	n		VRtHC 3
2.5	eb			nin								Cont Ts
2.6.1	e				na							Impers Vc
2.6.2.1	bin					dob		ma		r		Caus Vc
2.6.2.2	er					eyb		mo		ma		Trans Vc
2.6.2.3	eb					ran		man		daw		Reciprocal Vc
2.7.1.1	e						ran			se		Cont Asp
2.7.1.2	e						ab			ne		Dur Asp
2.7.1.3	eb						kaliyb			ne		Incho Asp 1
2.7.1.3	eb						ok	ma		n		Incho Asp 2
2.7.1.4	eb						kirib		sey	c	ay	Exh Asp
2.7.1.5	eb						ti			nyi		Apt Asp
2.7.1.6	e						n			we		Mom Asp
2.7.2	eb						kun			durum		1 Fut Ts
2.7.2	eb						kwab	ma		n		2 Fut Ts
2.7.2	eb						kwan			dim		3 Fut Ts
2.7.2	eb						kwan			se		Fut Perf Rel Is
2.7.2	e						an			se		Pluperf Rel Is
2.7.2	e						nu			n		Cont Ts
2.7.3	eb							mo		ne		Incomp Asp
2.8	eb							ma	ni	r		U/Sc/Ben
2.9	yib									ti		Hyp Mode/Des Mode
2.9	eb									du		Imp Mode/HortMode
2.10.1.1	eb									se		3 Pst Ts Comp Asp
2.10.1.2	bongdeyriy	tyan						ma		se		3 Pst Ts Inc Asp
2.10.1.3	e					ran				se		3 Pst Ts Cont Asp
2.10.1.4	eb									ne		2 Pst Ts Comp Asp
2.10.1.5	eb							mo		ne		2 Pst Ts Inc Asp
2.10.1.6	e					an				we		2 Pst Ts Cont Asp
2.10.1.7	e					n				we		1 Pst Ts Comp Asp
2.10.1.8	e					ab				ne		1 Pst Ts Inc Asp
2.10.1.9	e					ab				ne		1 Pst Ts Cont Asp
2.10.1.10	e						an			se		Pluperf Rel Ts
2.10.1.11	eb						kwan			se		Fut Perf Rel Ts
2.10.2.1	e									n		Pr Ts Comp Asp

tok

TAGMEME NO:	1			2		2		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9	
	VStHC				Cont	Impers	Pers	Asp			U		M.			Dep		Mode					
REFERENCE	Mar	VSt	Nuc	Mar	Ts	Vc	Vc	1	Ts	Asp	Sc	Ben	1	Ts-A	Dep	Asp	Mode	2	Clitic		Name		
2.10.2.2		eb								ma				n							Pr Ts Inc Asp		
2.10.2.3		e					ran							dim							Pr Ts Cont Asp		
2.10.2.4		eb							kun					dum							1 Fut Ts		
2.10.2.5		eb							kwab	ma				n							2 Fut Ts		
2.10.2.6		eb							kwan					dim							3 Fut Ts		
2.10.2.7		e							an					dim							Perf Rel Ts		
2.10.3.1		e							nu					n							Cont Ts		
2.11.1		eb												n		iyjok					Simult Asp		
2.11.2		eb												ne		bok					SimulIf Asp		
2.11.3		eb												dim		nyura					Dep Ant Asp		
2.11.4		eb												s		ura					Dep Pre Asp		
2.11.5		eb												n		iyji					Suc Asp		
2.12.1		eb								ma		si		r			do				Intr Mode		
2.12.2		eb												mi			nyay				Avol Mode		
2.12.3		eb							kwan					de			daribe				Prob Mode		
2.12.4		eb												ming			nyi				Causal Mode		
2.12.5		eb							kwan					dim			ca				Pot Mode		
2.13.1		ya												rum					e		Emph Mode		
2.13.2		e					ab							ne					tok		Excl Mode		
2.14	bir	bir		e					n	ma				r							Onomatopoeia		

Figure 13. Una verb matrix

2.3.1.3 The first slot in a verb stem hyper class is in most cases filled with a verb root, but it can also be filled with a verbalized adjective in connection with an optional causative aspect (cf. 2.3.1.3):

e.g. *teleb-rob-ma-r*
 good-causAsp-incompAsp-3sg pr t
 'He causes (it) to be good/glad/happy'

2.3.1.4 A verbalized numeral can also fill the first slot in a verb stem hyper class:

e.g. *bitin-eyb-ma-n*
 two-transVc-incompAsp-1sg pr t
 'I double it'

2.4 For a description of the three verb classes see respectively 2.6.1, 2.8 and 2.10.2.2.

2.5 An obligatory continuous tense suffix *-nin* following the verb root, with an optional verb reduplication, signals the continuous tense and can fill the second tagmeme of a verb:

e.g. *eb-nin (eb-nin)*
 speak-cont t speak-cont t
 'Speak(s) continually'

2.6.1 The impersonal voice suffix *{-na}* follows a verb root hyper class of which the final consonant is deleted. This suffix, which can fill the second tagmeme of a verb, forms the infinitive and is used in the prohibitive, permissive, indirect imperative and negative imperative modes and habitative aspect:

e.g. *e-na*
 speak-impersVc
 'It's O.K. to speak, don't speak' etc.

The following personal voice suffixes can fill the second tagmeme of a verb:

2.6.2.1 The causative voice suffix *{-dob}* follows a verb root hyper class, which is followed by the person-tense suffixes, and those suffixes mark the cause of an event:

e.g. *bin-dob-ma-r*
 bo-causVc-incompAsp-3ps pr t
 'He causes (him) to go'

2.6.2.2 The transitive voice suffix *{-eyb}* optionally marks a transitive verb:

er-eyb-mo-ma
 lift-transVc-incompAsp-2sg3pst t
 'You lifted him up'

2.6.2.3 The reciprocal voice suffix {-*dan*} marks an event performed reciprocally by two or more agents:

- e.g. *eb-ran-man-daw*
 say-recVc-incompAsp-2pl2pst t
 'They said this morning/yesterday to each other'
 (-*dan* → -*ran* / *b*-)

The following tense-aspect suffixes can fill the third tagmeme of a verb:

2.7.1.1 The continuous aspect suffix {-*n*} marks a continuous aspect of an event:

- e.g. *e-ran-se*
 say-contAsp-1sg3pst t
 'I said over and over again/time and time again/all the time'

2.7.1.2 The durative aspect suffix {-*ab*} marks an event which lasts for some time:

- e.g. *e-ab-ne*
 say-durAsp-1sg2pst t
 'I said that for a while this morning/yesterday'

2.7.1.3 The inchoative aspect suffixes {-*kaliyb*} and {-*ok*} (which are in free variation) mark an inceptive aspect of an event:

- e.g. *eb-kaliyb-ne*
 say-inchoAsp-1sg2pst t
 'I began to say this morning/yesterday'

eb-ok-ma-n
 say-inchoAsp-incompAsp-1sg1prt t
 'I begin to say ...'

2.7.1.4 The exhaustive aspect suffix {-*kirib*} marks an exhaustive aspect of an event:

- e.g. *eb-kirib-sey-c-ay*
 say-exhAsp-1plU-3sg-avolMode
 'Watch it, he might say everything to us/he might scold us'

2.7.1.5 The aptative aspect suffix {-*ti*} marks an aptative or abilitative aspect of an event:

- e.g. *eb-ti-nyi*
 say-aptAsp-1sg pr t
 'I can say'

2.7.1.6 The momentaneous aspect suffix {-*n*}, which replaces the verb root final consonants -*k* and -*b*, marks a past event covering a short period of time:

- e.g. *e-n-we*
 say-momAsp-1sg1pst t
 'I was saying just a while ago'

2.7.2 For a description of the near, regular and remote future tenses, the future perfect relative tense, pluperfect relative tense and continuous tense, (all of which can fill the third tagmeme slot) see respectively 2.10.2.4-6, 2.10.1.10-11 and 2.10.3.1.

2.7.3 The incomplete aspect suffix {-*ma*} marks an event which took place earlier on, or will take place in the future, but the result of which is relevant at the point of reference:

e.g. *eb-mo-ne*
 say-incompAsp-1sg2pst t
 'I said this morning/yesterday'

2.8 The undergoer/scope/beneficiary pronoun suffixes -*nV*, *kV*, \emptyset and -*sV*, which can fill the fourth verb tagmeme, mark the person and number of the individuals undergoing the action, or receiving/benefiting from the action, or lying in the direction toward which or away from which the action is directed:

e.g. *eb-ma-ni-r*
 say-incompAsp-1sgU/Sc/Ben-3sg pr t
 'He says something to me/for me/in favour of me/
 He calls to me/He calls in my direction'

2.9 The mode 1 suffix {-*ti*} marks a hypothetical mode which expresses the result of an action in case it happens, or the desiderative mode which indicates a desire to act. Another mode 1 suffix which can fill this fifth verb tagmeme is {-*du*}. This suffix marks either an imperative, polite imperative, hortative or deliberative mode which indicates respectively a command, a polite command, or an exhortation, encouragement of suggestion:

e.g. *yib-ti-nyi*
 eat-des/hypMode-1sg pr t
 'I like to eat/if I eat'

eb-du-rum
 speak-(pol)imp/hortMode-2dl
 'Speak up/You should speak up/
 Could you please speak'

The various past and present tense-actor suffixes which are summarized below fill the sixth verb tagmeme and indicate the time when a certain event happened, or happens, and the actor:

2.10.1.1-3 The remote past tense describes an event which took place at a relatively remote time, but minimally two days previous, and usually several weeks or months ago:

e.g. *eb-se*
 say-1st3pst t
 'I did say two days or longer ago'

2.10.1.4-6 The regular past tense describes an event which took place 8-48 hours ago:

e.g. *eb-ne*
 say-1sg2pst t
 'I did say this morning/yesterday'

2.10.1.7-9 The near past tense describes an event which happened just a while ago. (As an exception to the other past tenses the near past tense continuous aspect is followed by a clitic *-tok*):

e.g. *e-n-we*
 say-compAsp-1sg1pst t
 'I did say just a while ago'

2.10.1.10 The pluperfect relative tense-actor suffixes, which fill both the third and sixth tagmemes, describe a prior action in relation to another past action:

e.g. *e-an-se*
 say-2pst t-1sg3pst t
 'I had said'

2.10.1.11 The future perfect relative tense-actor suffixes, which fill both the third and the sixth verb tagmemes, describe a prior action in relation to the future:

e.g. *eb-kwan-se*
 say-3fut t-1sg3pst t
 'I will have said'

2.10.2.1-3 The present tense describes an event happening at the same time when the act is narrated:

e.g. *e-n*
 say-1sg pr t
 'I say'

2.10.2.4 - 2.10.3.1 The tense-actor suffixes of the future tenses, perfect relative tense and continuous tense fill both the third and sixth verb tagmemes:

2.10.2.4 The near future tense describes an event which will take place immediately following the time it is being narrated:

e.g. *eb-ku-n*
 say-1fut t-1sg
 'I will say right now'

2.10.2.5 The regular future tense describes an event which will take place in a while/shortly:

e.g. *eb-kwab-ma-n*
 say-2fut t-incompAsp-1sg
 'I will say in a while/shortly'

2.10.2.6 The remote future tense describes an event which will take place in the more distant future:

e.g. *eb-kwan-dim*
 say-3fut t-2sg
 'You(sg) will say (later on)'

2.10.2.7 The perfect relative tense describes an action which has occurred at some time prior to another present action:

e.g. *e-an-dim*
 say-2pst t-2sg pr t
 'You(sg) have said'

2.10.3.1 The continuous tense describes a continuous action which began in the past and continues into the future:

e.g. *e-nu-n*
 say-cont t-1sg
 'I am saying always/continually'

The following dependent aspect suffixes can fill the seventh verb tagmeme:

2.11.1 The simultaneous aspect suffix {-*iyjok*} marks an action performed by the same actor and at the same time as an action mentioned in the next clause:

e.g. *eb-n-iyjok*, ...
 say-1sg-simultAsp
 'While I eat, I will ...'

2.11.2 The simultfactive aspect suffix {-*bok*} marks an action occurring at the same time as another past or future action by a different actor and functions as a switch-reference marker:

e.g. *eb-ne-bok*, ...
 say-1sg-simulfAsp
 'While I speak (somebody else will) ...'

2.11.3 The dependent anticipatory aspect suffixes {-*nyura*} or {-*nyobora*} mark two consecutive future actions either by the same actor or by different actors:

e.g. *eb-dim-nyura*, ...
 say-2sg-depAntAsp
 'After you have spoken, you/they, etc. may say ...'

2.11.4 The dependent preview aspect suffixes {-*ura*}, {-*uca*}, and {-*obora*} mark past consecutive actions, either by the same actor or by different actors:

e.g. *eb-s-ura*, ...
 say-1sg-depPreAsp
 'After I spoke, I/you, etc. ...(pst t)'

2.11.5 The (dependent) successive aspect suffix {-*iyji*} marks a present and a consecutive future action, either by the same actor or by different actors:

- e.g. *eb-n-iyji*, ...
 say-1sg-sucAsp
 'After I say this, I/they, etc. ...'

The following mode 2 suffixes can fill the eighth verb tagmeme:

2.12.1 The interrogative mode suffix {-*do*} marks a real or rhetorical question:

- e.g. *eb-ma-si-r-do*
 say-incompAsp-1plSc-3sg pr t-intrMode
 'Does he say this to us?/Does he talk to us?'

2.12.2 The avolitional mode suffix {-*nyay*} indicates an undesirable action which will occur if a certain course of action continues:

- e.g. *eb-mi-nyay*
 say-2sg-avolMode
 'Watch it, don't say/don't speak!'

2.12.3 The probabilitive mode suffix {-*darib*} marks actions predicted or ordered by the speaker:

- e.g. *eb-kwan-de-darib-e*
 say-3fut t-3sg-probMode-emphMode
 'He might say/tell!'

2.12.4 The causal mode suffix {-*nyi*} indicates a verb which expresses an action which is, was, or will be the cause/grounds of the resulting action by a different actor described in the final verb of the next clause:

- e.g. *eb-ming-nyi*, ...
 say-2sg-causMode
 'Because you say, ...'

2.12.5 The potential mode suffix {-*ca*} indicates an action which very likely will happen as a result of a previous action described in the preceding clause:

- e.g. *eb-kwan-dim-ca*, ...
 say-3fut t-2sg-potMode
 'In case you will say ...'

The following enclitics can fill the ninth and last verb tagmeme:

2.13.1 The emphatic mode suffix {-*e*} indicates an additional emphatic force behind imperative expressions:

- e.g. *ya-rum-e*
 come-impMode2sg-emphMode
 'Come here!'

2.13.2 The exclusive aspect suffix *-tok* indicates the exclusiveness of the agent of the action:

e.g. *e-ab-ne-tok*, ...
 say-1pst t-1sg-ExclAsp
 'Only a while ago I (and nobody else) said ...'

2.14 The onomatopoeic verbs with or without the repetitive aspect marker indicate kinetics or bodily actions. The verbs consist of a non-inflected verb root, which is repeated to show repetition, and obligatorily followed by the inflected verb root *eb-* meaning 'to say/sound':

e.g. *bir bir e-n-ma-r*
 shiver shiver sound-momAsp-incompAsp-3sg pr t
 'He shivers'

3. NON-VERBAL CATEGORIES

A major morphological distinction exists between verbal and non-verbal structures. The latter usually occur without suffixes, while the verb stem never occurs without a suffix and usually has more than one. The non-verb stem in most cases stands alone as a complete word, being a grammatically independent utterance.

3.1 Nouns

A noun in Una is a word denoting semantically living beings (natural and supernatural), things, places, or abstract ideas. This semantic information can be derived from the context. A noun consists of a noun root which may be inflected for possession or be derived through nominalization. The linear structure of the noun complex is shown in Figure 14:

$$N = \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Ps}} \mid \text{PsPre} \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Intr}_1} \mid \text{dan-} + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{It}} \mid \text{NRt}$$

$$\pm \left[+ \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Quan}} \mid \{-yabwa\} \right] \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Intr}_2} \mid \{-do\}$$

Figure 14

Cohesion statements:

1. Intr_1 (cf. 3.6.2) and Intr_2 (cf. 3.6.3) are mutually exclusive
2. Ps and Intr_1 are mutually exclusive
3. Quan occurs only by animate beings, social relationships, or kinship terms (cf. 3.1.1)

Except for the very limited group of nouns with the suffix *-yabwa* 'plural', nouns in Una are not inflected for number. Neither definite nor indefinite articles are used. The only optional inflection is a possessive prefix and/or an interrogative suffix.

e.g. <i>mutuk</i>	mountain/hill/area
<i>ermutuk</i>	his mountain/hill/area
<i>ermutukdo</i>	is this his mountain/hill/area?
<i>danmutuk</i>	which mountain/hill/area?

<i>atey</i>	village
<i>kanatey</i>	your village
<i>kanateydo</i>	is this your village?
<i>danatey</i>	which village?

3.1.1 Animate beings, social relationship and kinship terms

Only the following nouns show contrast in number, indicated by the suffix {-*yabwa*}⁹ 'Plural':

Singular	Plural	
<i>bisam</i>	<i>bisamyabwa</i>	pig(pl)
<i>abwa</i>	<i>abwayabwa</i>	male relative(pl) in consanguineal second ascending generation
<i>bas</i>	<i>basiyabwa</i>	HB(pl)/WB(pl)
<i>demen</i>	<i>demenyabwa</i>	male friend(pl)
<i>du</i>	<i>duyabwa</i>	older male relative(pl) B(pl)/FBs(pl)/MSs(pl)/MBds(pl)
<i>nay</i>	<i>nayabwa</i>	F/FB(pl)/FSH(pl)/MSH(pl)
<i>ner</i>	<i>nerabwa</i>	W(pl)/woman/women
<i>ka</i>	<i>kayabwa</i>	FBd(pl)/MSd(pl)
<i>kwit</i>	<i>kwicabwa</i>	FBs(pl)/MSs(pl)/MBds(pl)
<i>tumun</i>	<i>tumunyabwa</i>	female friend(pl)
<i>weyt</i>	<i>weycabwa</i>	younger male relative(pl) B(pl)/FBs(pl)/MSs(pl)/MBds(pl)

Morphophonemic rules: Reduction of word medial consonant clusters occur as follows:

ty → *c* / # — #
e.g. [[kwityabwa]] → *kwicabwa* FBs(pl)/MSs(pl)/MBds(pl)

y → Ø / *r* —
e.g. [[neryabwa]] → *nerabwa* W(pl)/women

Anaptyxis occurs as follows:

[[basyabwa]] → *basiyabwa* HB/WB(pl)

3.1.2 Nominalizers

Two classes of nominalizers are found in Una with inflected number: (1) nominalizers of adjectives, locatives and demonstratives, (2) nominalizers of verbs.

3.1.2.1 Nominalized adjectives, locatives and demonstratives

Nominalization of adjectives, locatives and demonstratives can occur by means of suffixation with a masculine suffix *-nyi* as shown in Figure 15:

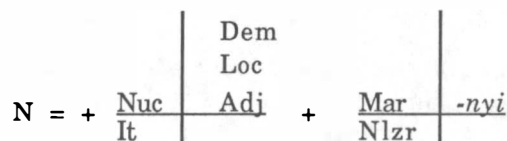


Figure 15

The suffix *-nyi* 'male' is always a bound form. (The free form for 'male' is *sal*.) This is in contrast to the opposite of *-nyi* 'male', viz., *ner* 'woman' which occurs as a free form noun, and therefore is not a nominalizer.

The plural of a noun with a suffix *-nyi* is formed by serialization of the nucleus with the noun *nang* 'people/persons'.¹⁰

e.g.

Singular	Plural	
1. <i>mitik-nyi</i> short-Nlzs	<i>mitik nang</i> short-Nlzs	short man/men
2. <i>wiysiy-nyi</i> old-Nlzs	<i>wiysi nang</i> old-Nlzs	aged man/men
3. <i>du-nyi</i> fruit-Nlzs	<i>du nang</i> fruit-Nlzs	male (first born)/ males (first/important)
4. <i>weyk-nyi</i> big-Nlzs	<i>weyk nang</i> big-Nlzs	chief(s)
5. <i>noutam-nyi</i> centre-Nlzs	<i>noutam nang</i> centre-Nlzs	person(s) in the centre
6. <i>a-nyi</i> that-Nlzs	<i>a nang</i> that-Nlzs	that man/these men

3.1.2.2 Nominalized verbs

The suffix *-na* does not occur as a free form. It is always suffixed to a verb stem (cf. Figure 16). It nominalizes any verb stem hyper class.

$$N = + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{It}} \left| \frac{\text{VStHC}}{>\text{Tty}>} \right| + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Nlzt}} \left| \frac{-na}{-na} \right|$$

Figure 16.

As stated before, only three verb stem final consonants *-k*, *-b*, and *-n* occur.

Morphophonemic rules:

1. Suprasegmental influence on the ultimate verb stem syllable conditions the verb stem final consonants *-k*, *-b* and *-n* as follows:

{-k} 'VSt final C'		{-b} 'VSt final C'	
-ng	/ -V—na	-m	/ -V—na
-k	/ -V—na	Ø	/ -V—na

2. Twin consonant reduction occurs in:

[[yanna]]	→	yana	the coming
[[binna]]	→	bina	the going

<i>dengna</i>	payment	from:	<i>dèk-</i>	to pay
<i>kasukna</i>	coughing	from:	<i>kasúk-</i>	to cough
<i>yina</i>	food	from:	<i>yib-</i>	to eat
<i>kalimna</i>	parts	from:	<i>kalíb-</i>	to cut

3.2 Pronouns

In Una, one set of pronouns (cf. Figure 17) is used in two functions. The pronouns of the set are used as personal and possessive pronouns. Besides the semantic difference the only grammatical distinction reflecting the different functions is that personal pronouns are always free forms, while possessive pronouns are always bound forms prefixed to nouns.

	Singular	Dual/plural
1st person	<i>ni</i>	<i>nun</i>
2nd person	<i>kan</i>	<i>sùn¹¹</i>
3rd person	<i>er</i>	<i>sún</i>

Figure 17. Pronoun matrix

3.2.1 Pronouns used as personal pronouns

- e.g. 1. *ni weyk neb-ma-se*
 I big grow-incompAsp-3pst t 1sg
 'I grew up/I am an adult'

2. *kan dan atey nang*
you(sg) what village person
'Where are you from?'
3. *er Iyna beji ato eb-m-ow*
he Iyna ERG like say-incompAsp-3pst t 3sg
'Iyna said so'
4. *sun a biysiyk asi ba-nu-num*
you(dl) that trail NOM go-cont t-2dl
'You two always take/walk that trail'
5. *sùn yiboka ay dam yan-ma-rurum*
you(dl) eating hut near come-incompAsp-pr t 2dl
'You two come eating to the hut'
6. *sún a uram tuba tuba e-ran-dey*
they(dl) that story continually tell-cont t-3dl
'They two tell that story continually'
7. *nun niyja lulay beleboka dib-ibyay*
we all bones sticking out die-AvolMode-1pl
'Watch it we will starve to death, so that our bones will stick out!'
8. *sùn am ki-yan-da-rut*
you(pl) taro load-come-imperMode-2pl
'Haul the taro!'
9. *sún Langda nang kaynya ato tene-ram-nyi*
they Langda people inside so think-contAsp-3pst t3pl
'That's what the Langda people thought'

3.2.1.1 Inclusive personal pronoun suffix *-babyi*

The suffix *-babyi* 'too/also' (cf. Figure 18), which is a derivation of the free form *ababyi* 'too/also', can be suffixed to pronouns.

$$\text{Incl Per Pro} = + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Per}} \mid \text{Pro} + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Incl}} \mid \text{-babyi}$$

Figure 18

- e.g. 1. *ni-babyi wiysi da-se ate, ni-ner ababyi ukub-wa*
I-Incl old be-1sg3pst t cc my-wife too be-3sg3pst t
'I too am old, and my wife likewise/also'

2. *kan-babyi sun tonkwa ku-n-darut-nyi*
 you-Incl them with be-cont t-Nl_{zr}
 'You too were with them'
3. *er-babyi maliy-nyi ku-ru-t*
 he-Incl bad-man be-cont t-3sg
 'He too is a bad man'
4. *sun-babyi neyktoto sun-kaynya aji ato tene-ramnyi*
 they-Incl too their-inside LOC like think-3pl 3pst t contAsp
 'They too thought the same'

3.2.2 Pronouns used as possessive pronouns

The pronouns which are used as possessive pronouns are prefixed to nouns (cf. Figure 19) and characterize semantically the information that there exists a certain relationship between a person and that object which is designated by the noun to which it is prefixed.

The following kinds of relationships in Una can be distinguished:

1. A thing designated which belongs to, or is an inalienable possession of the person indicated:

$$N = + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Ps}} \mid \frac{\text{Pro}}{\text{}} + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{It}} \mid \frac{\text{NRt}}{\text{}}$$

Figure 19

(For morphophonemic changes in the Ps-margin cf. 1.5)

<i>ni-wa</i>	my garden
<i>kan-uram</i>	your(sg) voice
<i>er-kwey</i>	her sugarcane
<i>nun-weynya</i>	our (dl/pl) marsupials
<i>sùn-maka</i>	your (dl/pl) birds/poultry
<i>sùn-yin</i>	their (dl/pl) bows

2. A part of the body of the person designated:

<i>n-otong</i>	my hair
<i>kan-amol</i>	your(sg) ears
<i>er-taruk</i>	his arms
<i>nun-yan</i>	our (dl/pl) legs
<i>sù-nong</i>	your (dl/pl) bodies
<i>sùn-asiyng</i>	their (dl/pl) eyes

3. A social or kinship relationship with, or a membership of an institution designated (Louwerse 1985e):

<i>ni-ner</i>	my wife
<i>kan-kwin</i>	your(sg) mother
<i>er-siyenyi</i>	his chief
<i>nun-kwit</i>	our(dl/pl) younger friend
<i>sùn-sekola nang</i>	your(dl/pl) pupils
<i>sùn-atey</i>	their(dl/pl) village

4. The person indicated is referring to, or in the location designated:

<i>sùn-ay</i>	their hut
<i>nideyci tam</i>	behind my back
<i>nunatey</i>	in our village

5. The emotion or attitude, body function or state of knowledge designated is a quality of the person indicated:

<i>n-ilil</i>	my fear
<i>er-alyi</i>	her shame
<i>kan-li</i>	your(sg) dislike
<i>nun-tola</i>	our(dl/pl) deceitfulness
<i>sùn-akwa</i>	your(dl/pl) laughter
<i>sùn-walwal</i>	their(dl/pl) ignorance

3.2.3 Demonstrative pronouns/locational deictics

Figures 20 and 21 contain a group of locational deictics which are found in Una. They refer to the location of the object in question. Their directions are not tied to any point of the compass, but to levels in relation to an object on the horizon and the location of the speaker (Louwerse 1985a).

The spectrum of relative distance in Una from very close to distant is different from English, and has a varying threshold depending on the contexts in which it is used; specifically, whether a person (including self), things, or both are involved.

Overriding this, the relative size of the things being observed, or reflected on, and the context in which they are observed determine the specific term used (e.g. some celestial bodies might be called very close even though they are light-years apart). By means of a tone distinction in the locational deictics two degrees of relative nearness or remoteness can be indicated.

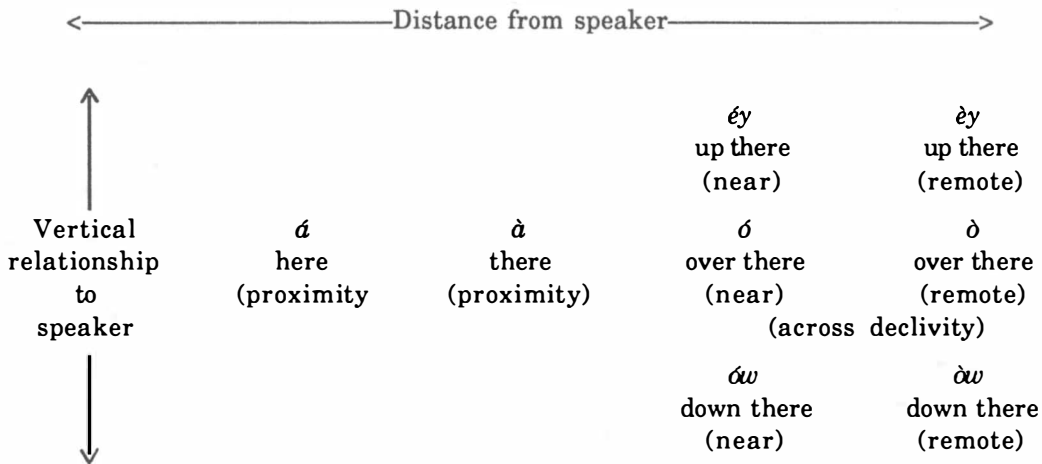


Figure 20. Demonstrative pronoun/locational deictic matrix

á	here	(things close to the speaker, within a few feet, roughly at the same level with the speaker, without declivity in between)
à	there	(further away)
éy	up there	(anything up higher than the location of the speaker and within a few feet)
èy	up there	(remote)
áw	down there	(anything at a lower altitude than the speaker)
àw	down there	(remote, including things up over a mountain and down on the other side)
ó	over there/ there across..	(still on much the same level as speaker, but with some declivity like a creek, river, airstrip, canyon in between but relatively near)
ò	over there/ there across..	(remote) ¹²

e.g. 1. *ururu* *èy mutuk yiba-rande*
 airplane up there mountain pass by-3sg cont t
 'The airplane passes by near the mountain up there'

2. *éy me,* *teleb me*
 that up there stream good water/stream
 'That stream up here is good water'

A consonant is added between the locative and noun when the noun begins with a vowel.

e.g. 1. *er* *èy-k-atey* *bin-ma-r*
 she up there-C-village go-incompAsp-3sg pr t
 'She walks to that village up there'

Locational deictics can also be prefixed to *tam* 'place' pointing to a direction or place.

$$\text{Locational Deictic} = + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Locn}} \mid \frac{\text{LocPre}}{\text{It}} + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{It}} \mid \text{-tam}$$

Figure 21

<i>àtam</i>	that place
<i>átam</i>	this place
<i>èytam</i>	that place up there
<i>éytam</i>	this place up there
<i>òwtam</i>	that place down there
<i>ówtam</i>	this place down there
<i>òtam</i>	that place over there (same level, remote)
<i>ótam</i>	that place over there (same level, nearby)

e.g. *er éy-tam bin-ma-r*
 he up there-place go-incompAsp-3sg pr t
 'He is going up there'

Locational deictics can also be prefixed to *-tiba* 'item/thing' showing an object in a resting position:

<i>àtiba</i>	that item
<i>átiba</i>	this item
<i>eytiba</i>	that item up there
<i>éytiba</i>	this item up there
<i>òwtiba</i>	that item down there
<i>ówtiba</i>	this item down there
<i>òtiba</i>	that item over there (same level, remote)
<i>òtiba</i>	that item over there (same level, nearby)

e.g. *ni-wa èytiba*
 my-garden up there
 'My garden is up there!'

3.3 Numerals

The Una people use a counting system which is to a base twenty-seven system. Most often, counting takes place in a face-to-face encounter by which the speaker points to his upper extremities and head. He starts with the little finger of the left hand and continuing via the arm up over the head and down the right arm ends up with the little finger of the right hand, which has a numerical value of twenty-seven.

Numerals are formed, with the exception of one to three and twenty-five and twenty-six, by the indication of the corresponding body part and a suffix *-baji* 'cardinal numeral'. From fifteen to twenty-four a preceding free form *dina* 'right hand side

numeral' has been added indicating the right hand side of the body corresponding with the cardinal numeral. Twenty-five and twenty-six are distinguished from two and three by the suffix *-jaba* and twenty-seven is distinguished from one by the actual name of the little finger as corresponding body part, suffixed with an optional *-baji*.

One complete count is called *ding* or *ding tentok* 'unit of twenty-seven' and with this number counting is usually discontinued. However, by the terms *ding bitinyi*, *ding wiyniyji*, and *ding dumbaji* respectively, two, three or four complete counts (54, 81, 108) can still be visualized, but normally anything above *ding tentok* 'one complete count (27)' is considered to be *weyk/ililto* 'many/ a lot'.

The younger generation, however, is tending to use the numbers of the decimal system of the lingua franca of Indonesia, *Bahasa Indonesia* (Louwerse 1985b).

3.3.1 Cardinal numbers

		Name of corresponding body part
<i>ton/tentok</i>	one	
<i>bitinyi</i>	two	
<i>wiyniyji</i>	three	
<i>dumbaji</i>	four	index finger
<i>amubaji</i>	five	thumb
<i>nabaji</i>	six	wrist
<i>tabaji</i>	seven	lower arm
<i>inybaji</i>	eight	elbow
<i>towbnabaji</i>	nine	upper arm
<i>takobaji</i>	ten	shoulder
<i>koklombaji</i>	eleven	side of neck
<i>amolbaji</i>	twelve	ear
<i>kakubmikin</i>	thirteen	side of upper skull
<i>kiysok lubaji</i>	fourteen	top of skull
<i>dina kakubmikbaji</i>	fifteen	side of upper skull
<i>dina amolbaji</i>	sixteen	ear
<i>dina koklombaji</i>	seventeen	side of neck
<i>dina takobaji</i>	eighteen	shoulder
<i>dina towbnabaji</i>	nineteen	upper arm
<i>dina inybaji</i>	twenty	elbow
<i>dina tabaji</i>	twenty one	lower arm
<i>dina nabaji</i>	twenty two	wrist
<i>dina amubaji</i>	twenty three	thumb
<i>dina dumbaji</i>	twenty four	index finger
<i>wiyniyjaba</i>	twenty five	
<i>bitinyaba</i>	twenty six	
<i>selelekca (baji)</i>	twenty seven	

3.3.2 Ordinal numbers

The suffix *-nyi* which follows the term designating a body part (cf. Figure 22), forms an ordinal number. This is different from the nominalizer suffix *-nyi* which exclusively follows a demonstrative, locative or adjective as described in 3.1.2.1.

$$\text{Original num} = + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{It}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{body part} \\ \text{NRt} \end{array} \right. + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Quant}} \left| \text{-nyi} \right.$$

Figure 22.

<i>tako-nyi</i>	tenth
<i>amol-nyi</i>	twelfth
<i>koklom-nyi</i>	eleventh
<i>nab-nyi</i>	sixth
<i>dina amu-nyi</i>	twenty third
<i>dina amol-nyi</i>	sixteenth

3.4 Adjectives

A limited number of adjectives, which are all free forms, indicating mainly sizes, temporal proportions and colours, can follow the nouns. If special emphasis in the discourse is placed upon the adjective, then it may precede the noun. The adjectives found to date are:

<i>tin</i>	hot/warm
<i>arum</i>	cold/cool
<i>aruk(u)na</i>	cold
<i>iykiyb</i>	freeze cold
<i>asim</i>	sultry
<i>diyb/tek</i>	true/genuine
<i>tola</i>	false/untrue
<i>teleb</i>	good/O.K.
<i>malyi</i>	bad/not harmful ¹³ /unimportant
<i>kat</i>	firm/fixed/hard/tough
<i>yongon</i>	soft/tender
<i>min</i>	before/earlier
<i>aminda</i>	later on
<i>lu</i>	flat
<i>ase</i>	steep/precipitous
<i>minola</i>	fast
<i>nimalyok</i>	slow
<i>dandim</i>	almost

<i>malya</i>	non-edible
<i>mitik</i>	small/few
<i>weyk</i>	big/large/many/much/tall
<i>walum</i>	a lot
<i>wiysi</i>	old/aged
<i>kam</i>	young
<i>yuk</i>	automatically/alone/only
<i>kowla</i>	dry/withered
<i>siyriyk</i>	to the right
<i>kwanim</i>	to the left

Only three adjectives proper indicate colours. This tripartite classification may be interpreted as exhibiting what Berlin & Kay (1969:26) call 'Basic color terms stage II' colour terminology:

<i>kurun/lena</i>	light colours/white
<i>miyriyn/(y)ikmaka</i>	dark colours/black, brown, green, grey
<i>biy</i>	red

Una culture, which represents a non-technologically advanced culture, has only a limited terminology to describe the colour spectrum. Besides the three adjectives indicating 'basic colour terms', all other adjectives indicating colour occur mostly in highly specialized contexts and refer to certain hues. However, these terms are restricted almost exclusively to particular substances, objects or materials with a corresponding colour.

e.g. <i>ko</i>	white earth/chalk/pale
<i>susulya/mur</i>	red dye made of earth
<i>kumusan</i>	yellow dye made of a ginger species
<i>bila</i>	blue sky
<i>kul</i>	grey hair
<i>sukun</i>	dark colour caused by aging/rotting (wood)/green soil

These colour adjectives follow the noun and are optionally followed by *ato/to* 'like'

- e.g. 1. *iy m biy ato*
 sky red like
 'Morning or evening red'
2. *ururu kala mur ato*
 plane skin red clay like
 'A red airplane'
3. *erkiysok ko ato ku-rut*
 her-head chalk like be-3sg cont t
 'She looks pale all the time'
4. *iy m bila teleb dey b-ma-r*
 sky blue nice wear-incomp Asp-3sg pr t
 'There is a nice blue sky'

5. *wiysiynyi otong kul*
 old man hair grey
 'The old man has grey hair'

3.5 Temporals

Proper temporals are defined as free forms denoting semantically a temporal setting. The proper temporals which consist of a single word are in contrast with natural phenomenal temporals and culturally recognized temporals which consist of a combination of words.

The following four kinds of temporals can be distinguished:

A. Circumstantial or biological temporals

Time setting in Una can be established by reference to some circumstance happening at the time of a certain event, or to some biological stage, by means of some construction such as *uk*, *tum* or *talak* 'time/period'.

- e.g. *uk tentok tum aji*
 time one period at
 'Once upon a time'

The time setting can also be re-established by means of some construction with the morpheme *a* 'that' and one of the circumstantial or biological temporals.

- e.g. *a talak aji*
 that time at
 'At that time'
- a kalingnamnyi talak aji*
 that they-waited time at
 'During that time when they waited'

Time may also be in relation to other events,

- e.g. *ni dianyi talak aji*
 I I-die time at
 'Around the time of my death'
- er deybcu tum aji*
 he she-bore time at
 'At the time of his birth'

B. Conventional temporals

The Una people distinguish the following conventional temporals which form two triplets (cf. Figure 23):

I. Historical reference

<i>kwemdiyna</i>	prehistoric/mythological time
<i>minob</i>	historic/ancestral time
<i>nuntalak</i>	past lifespan

II. Contemporary reference

<i>yuma</i>	before/first
<i>ukuruyok</i>	now
<i>aminda</i>	after/later

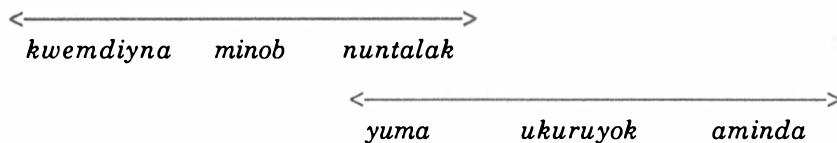


Figure 23. Conventional temporal diagram I

Conventional temporals of near past and future are part of a centred set which can be illustrated by means of the set of concentric ellipses of Figure 24. This kind of time expressions which only indicate temporal distance from the present are common to highland New Guinea - Irian Jaya languages. The component of past or future is signaled by the verb tense.

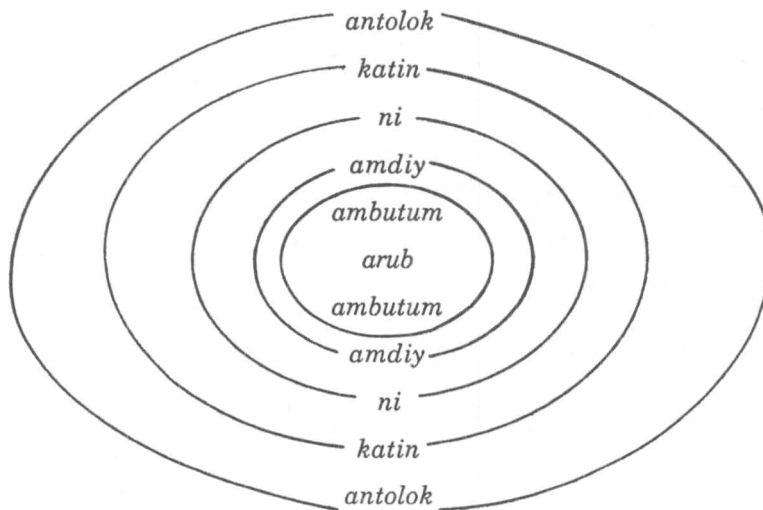


Figure 24. Conventional temporal diagram 2

<i>arub</i>	today
<i>ambutum</i>	yesterday/tomorrow
<i>amdiy</i>	two days ago/within two days
<i>ni</i>	three days ago/within three days
<i>katin</i>	four days ago/within four days
<i>antolok</i>	five days ago/within five days

C. Natural phenomenal temporals

Natural phenomenal temporals are frequently used. They describe time in reference to certain positions, forms or colours of the celestial bodies (sun, moon and stars), or by means of the seasons; e.g.

<i>berentam</i>	approx. 5:00 a.m./dawn/daybreak
<i>belerukna kobrob</i>	approx. 5:00 a.m./dawn/daybreak
<i>belerukna</i>	approx. 6:00 a.m./sunrise
<i>belukuna</i>	approx. 6:00 a.m./sunrise
<i>kiting deybm̄ar</i>	approx. 6:00 a.m./sunrise, lit. sun is born
<i>kiting deyblobmar</i>	approx. 6:15 a.m./shortly after sunrise
<i>kiting liklobmar</i>	approx. 6:30 a.m., lit. sun shines on western mountain wall
<i>kiting ururuk enmar</i>	approx. 7:00 a.m.
<i>kiting anamyanmar</i>	approx. 7:00 - 10:00 a.m., lit. the sun appears and comes
<i>kiting anamtingyanmar</i>	approx. 10:00 - 11:30 a.m., lit. the sun appears, comes and stands still
<i>kiting dukduk ena</i>	approx. 12:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m./noon, lit. the sun stands at zenith
<i>kiting yalikmar</i>	approx. 2:00 - 5:00 p.m.
<i>kiting yalingna</i>	approx. 2:00 - 5:00 p.m.
<i>kiting yalikabubok</i>	approx. 2:00 - 5:00 p.m.
<i>kiting wererem ebmar</i>	approx. 5:00 - 5:30 p.m./late afternoon, lit. the sun enters
<i>kiting wekmar</i>	approx. 5:00 - 5:30 p.m./late afternoon, lit. the sun enters
<i>kiting lablab binmar</i>	approx. 5:30 - 5:45 p.m., lit. the sun shines on eastern mountains
<i>kiting bilikdandin binmar</i>	approx. 6:00 - 6:15 p.m./last moments of sunset, lit. the sun goes and sits
<i>kiting burwelebinmar</i>	approx. July/sun rising in N.E.
<i>kiting buryurbinmar</i>	approx. Jan./sun rising in S.E.
<i>wala dukduk ena</i>	approx. 12:00 p.m./midnight, lit. moon stands at zenith

<i>wala</i>	month/moon
<i>wala teleb</i>	full moon, lit. good moon
<i>wala berengna</i>	full moon, lit. good moon
<i>wala tobmar</i>	full moon, lit. good moon
<i>wala untomar</i>	full moon, lit. good moon
<i>wala suwa elekmar</i>	waxing moon, lit. the moon is wrapped in packing material
<i>wala iyniybmar</i>	waxing moon, lit. the moon hides
<i>wala ownmar</i>	new moon
<i>wala owbar</i>	new moon
<i>wala mitik</i>	new moon, lit. small moon
<i>wala obkwamar</i>	waning moon, lit. the moon will be killed
<i>wala yang kebmar</i>	waning or waxing moon
<i>mowrya (tum)</i>	approx. August-December/summer
<i>dow liy</i>	approx. August-December/summer
<i>asim liy</i>	approx. August-September/sultry season
<i>mem tuwa</i>	approx. August-September/hazy period, lit. magic steam (caused by high temperatures which evaporize wet lowlands after the rainy season).
<i>iysa ay tulum</i>	approx. August-September/hazy period, lit. steam from the spirit world
<i>mo liy</i>	approx. January-July, lit. rainy season
<i>mo denena</i>	approx. January-July, lit. rainy season
<i>mo tum</i>	approx. January-July, lit. rainy season

D. Culturally recognized temporals

The passing of *emnanyi* 'white-throated pigeon (*Columba vitiensis*)' to and from the southern lowlands around 7:00 a.m. and 4:30 p.m. and the opening and closing of specific plant species around 8:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. is a culturally recognized temporal used as indication for the Una people to start or conclude work in the gardens, etc.

Furthermore, *weynya (mowa) liy* 'approx. February-May/hunting season' and *niynyi liy* 'time of festivals when guests visit' (lit. 'people time') etc. are culturally recognized temporals frequently referred to in Una discourse.

3.6 Interrogatives

Within the interrogatives we distinguish polar and nonpolar interrogatives. Polar interrogatives can only be answered with 'yes' or 'no', which is not the case with the nonpolar interrogatives.

3.6.1 Nonpolar interrogative {*una*}

The nonpolar interrogative (*una*) asks for information. The various tagmeme slots for which it seeks information and the forms with which it occurs are shown in Figure 25.

$$\text{Nonpolar Intr} = + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Intr}} \mid \{una\} + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{It}} \mid \text{N/cc}$$

Figure 25

<i>una</i> ¹⁴	which/what?
<i>una talak</i>	when/what time?
<i>una ner</i>	who/what woman?
<i>una miy</i>	who/what child?
<i>una tum</i>	when/what day/what time?
<i>una ate</i>	what about?

<i>unuto ate</i>	why?
<i>unutowa</i>	why?
<i>unutowda</i>	why?
<i>unanyi</i>	who/what person?
<i>unubaji</i>	how much?

- e.g. 1. *sun una talak yan-ma-y-do*
 they what time come-incompAsp-3pl3pst t-IntrMode
 'When did they come?'
2. *a ya dengna unu-baji-do*
 that machete payment how-much-IntrMode
 'How much is that machete?'
3. *kan nun-siy ukuram-suna deyok unu ate*
 you us-DAT like that-3plSc reason what about
 'What about what you did/do to us?'
4. *kan unuto ate, yu kub-ma-rim-do*
 you why angry be-incompAsp-2sg pr t-IntrMode
 'Why are you so angry?'
5. *a miy una miy*
 that child which child
 'Whose child is that child?'

Note: The interrogative mode marker {-do} occurs in free variation with Ø in combination with {*una*}.

Morphophonemic rules: Progressive assimilation occurs as follows:

{una}	which/what
unu /	—back vowels, —labials
una /	elsewhere

3.6.2 Nonpolar interrogative prefix *dan-*

The nonpolar interrogative prefix *dan-* 'where/what/which' precedes a noun (cf. Figure 26), and asks the direction or the location. When this nonpolar interrogative is used, no clause-final interrogative mode marker {-do} can occur.

$$\text{Nonpolar Intr} = + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Intr}} \mid \frac{\{-dan\}}{\text{N}} + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{It}} \mid \text{N}$$

Figure 26

<i>dantam</i>	where? lit. what place?
<i>danmutuk</i>	which mountain?
<i>danatey nang</i>	what (village) people?
e.g. <i>sun dantam binmay</i>	where did they go?
<i>er danmutuk welebinmow</i>	which mountain did he climb?
<i>a danatey nang</i>	where are they from? lit. these people what is their village?

3.6.3 Polar interrogative suffix {-do}

Simple questions or polar/'yes' - 'no' questions are indicated by a clause-final suffix {-do} (cf. Figure 27). These simple questions are asked when the speaker desires to confirm something which he understands to be so, but is not quite sure about.

$$\text{Polar Intr} = + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Decl}} \mid \text{Cl} + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Intr}} \mid \frac{\{-do\}}{\text{N}}$$

Figure 27

- e.g. 1. *weyk-do, mitik-do*
 big-Intr small-Intr
 'Is it big or small?'
 2. *teleb-do, malyi-ro*
 good-Intr bad-Intr
 'Is it good or bad?'

Morphophonemic rules: Progressive assimilation results sometimes in vowel reduplication following *a*, but is in free variation with *-do*.

- {-do} 'Intr Suf'
 -do --da / -a—
 -ro / other V—
 -do / elsewhere

- e.g. 1. *a weyk bisam, er-bisam-do, kum-do*
 that big pig his-pig-Intr not-Intr
 'That big pig, is it his, or not?'
 2. *a uram, ururu uram-do, kum-do*
 that sound airplane sound-Intr not-Intr
 'Is that the sound of the airplane, or not?'
 3. *ow-kay, bisam ay-ro, kum-do*
 down there-hut pig hut-Intr not-Intr
 'Is that building there, for the pigs, or not?'
 4. *kan-li-ro, kum-do*
 you(sg)-dislike-Intr not-Intr
 'Don't you like it, or do you?'
 5. *a ∅ keybyal kat co-ro, yongon co-ro*
 that tree casuarina hard wood-Intr soft tree-Intr
 'Is that tree a hard casuarina, or a soft tree?'

3.6.4 Polar interrogative *kum*

When a speaker desires confirmation he uses *kum* following the object noun or noun phrase.

- e.g. 1. *a ∅ keybyal kum*
 that tree casuarina not
 'That tree is a casuarina, isn't it?'
 2. *a neybnyi, ka-neybnyi kum*
 that girl your(sg)-girl not
 'That girl is your girl, isn't she?'
 3. *a-kay Karba ay kum*
 that-hut Karba's hut not
 'That hut is Karba's, isn't it?'

3.7 Negatives

Two negatives are to be found in Una: *kum* 'not' and *mem* 'don't'. If negating a thing or attribute *kum* 'not' follows either a noun, adjective or verb (cf. sentences 1 - 7 below); if negating an event it precedes a verb (cf. sentences 8 - 9).

- e.g. 1. *er-maka kum, a maka ni-ja*
his-chicken not, that chicken mine-PE
'That's not his chicken, it's mine!'
2. *sun niynyi kum ay ku-ram-wa*
they people not place be-contAsp-3sg3pst t
'He was in a desolated place'
3. *iyim kululung mitik kum, weyk*
sky jet noise small not huge
'The jet airliner is not small, it's huge'
4. *a-kaling kurun kum, miyriyn*
that-net light colour not, dark colour
'That's not a light coloured net, it's a dark one'
5. *kan-kaynya ilil ku-ng kum*
your(sg)-heart fear be-ImpersVc not
'Don't be afraid!'
6. *ato e-ng kum*
like say-ImpersVc not
'That's not said that way'
7. *me ili-ng kum*
water clean-ImpersVc not
'That's not washed'
8. *sun-miy tentok kum ku-am-wa*
their-son one not be-contAsp-2dl2pst t
'They have no son'
9. *a-nyi ni kum bi-ngnun*
that-person I not know-1sgCont t
'I am not acquainted with that fellow'

Morphophonemic rules: Regressive assimilation occurs with the verb stem final consonant as follows:

{-k} 'VSt final C'	{-b} 'VSt final C'
-ng / —k	-ng / —k
-k / elsewhere	-b / elsewhere

The second negative *mem* 'don't' follows only an impersonal voice verb construction.

- e.g. 1. *kan ilil ku-na mem*
 you(sg) fear be-ImpersVc don't
 'Don't be afraid!'
2. *a yu-wa yung yi-na mem*
 that sharp-Nl_{zr} fluids drink-ImpersVc don't
 'Don't drink that strong drink!'
3. *uram e-na mem*
 talk speak-ImpersVc don't
 'Don't talk!'
4. *ato mem*
 like that don't
 'Don't do like that!'
5. *su-nay, sun-kwin kere-na mem*
 your(pl)-fathers your(pl)mothers scold-ImpersVc don't
 'Don't scold/be angry at your parents!'

3.8 Exclamations

Exclamations are defined as those free forms which take neither verb nor noun affixation, nor form the basis of derived forms. They commonly occur in isolation. The most common exclamations are:

<i>anune</i>	poor thing	<i>ura</i>	that's it!
<i>bokoy</i>	really?	<i>wanyi</i>	shame on you!
<i>se</i>	hey!	<i>we</i>	what?
<i>malyi</i>	doesn't matter!	<i>naye</i>	good grief!

Conclusion

In the preceding chapters all Una word classes which can be distinguished formally have been described. A description in detail of all the word classes which semantically could be distinguished in Una (cf. Louwerse 1985c) falls outside this analysis of the morphophonemics and word level. The morphology, while being concerned with words, leaves out of consideration those words which cannot be grouped within a morphological category. However, such words will be classified on the basis of their syntactical behaviour in the description of the higher levels of the grammar.

4. INTRA-CLAUSAL SYNTAX: PHRASE STRUCTURE

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the grouping of words into phrases will be described. A phrase in Una can be described by Pike & Pike's (1982:453) definition:

'A phrase is a term which is a nonpropositional sequence of words, with a nuclear word or conjunct of words with its marginal, modifying words; or a single word expandable into a phrase but temporarily fully filling the higher slot.'

Many examples which are given in this chapter are used to illustrate less than complete utterances. Such examples are not concluded by a period, since this symbol has been reserved for utterances which may occur independently.

4.2 Noun phrase

There are eight tagmemes (cf. Figure 28) in a Una noun phrase which may be filled, although it is rare for all slots to be represented simultaneously. Only the nucleus is obligatory and consequently many noun phrases consist only of a single noun or proper noun.

NP = ± Mar	PropN Dem	16	17	18	N	Quantif	AdjP	Adj
Spec	N ± Mar	AdjP ± Mar	RelCl ± Mar	N NP + Nuc	PropN ± Mar	Num ± Mar	AdjP ± Mar	PropN
		Rest	CM	It	Quant	Qual	Lim	
1.				maka				
2.				bird				
3.	a			maka	bitinyi			
4.	that			birds	two			
5.	a	kurun		maka		iya teleb		
6.	these	red		bird		very good		
7.		fat		maka	wiyniyji			
8.		flesh		birds	three			
9.			nun kum	bird				
10.			we not	ay				
11.			Memeryuma	time				
12.			nebnow	talak				
13.			M. grew up	talk				
14.			Okbab	nang				
15.			baramnyi	people				
16.			O. went					
17.				ninayabwa	niyja			
18.	Ey			my ancestors	all			
19.	(River) Ey			duma				
20.	a	mitik		valley				
21.	that	small		kam				akwa
22.	Langda			dog				only
23.	Langda			nang				
24.				people				
25.				Munkona				
26.				Munkona				
27.				mutuk				Yim
28.				mountain				Yim
29.	a		maka ob	diynyi				
30.	those		bird kill	persons				
31.	uku	kuramowbwa		talak				
32.	that	we existed		time				
33.		en		wam				
34.		speech		talk				
35.			ut	buk		malyi		
36.			fire	flames		bad		
37.			Kiykmay nang	mutuk				
38.			K. people	mountain				
39.	ey	ilto	Laji dong	siy				Kweremwa
40.	that up there	huge	tam mutuk	name				Kweremwa
41.			mnt. beyond L.					
42.		utolowa	niynyi	buluna		weyk		
43.		all kinds	people	crowd		big		
44.				berentam				dandim
45.				dawn				almost
46.			o	kukwa	tentak			
47.			wood	block	one			

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. a bird | 9. all my ancestors | 17. speech |
| 2. two birds | 10. the Ey River valley | 18. small flames |
| 3. that very good bird | 11. only that small dog | 19. area of the Kiykmay people |
| 4. these three red birds | 12. the people of Langda | 20. that huge mountain up there beyond Laji called Kweremwa |
| 5. fat bird | 13. Munkona (district) | 21. a big crowd of all kinds of people |
| 6. before our time | 14. the mountain called Yim | 22. almost at dawn |
| 7. at the time when M. was a child | 15. those hunters | 23. one block of wood |
| 8. the people who went to Okbab | 16. in our time | |

Figure 28. Noun phrase matrix¹⁵

The following tagmemes of the noun phrase can have multiple-word fillers:

4.2.1 Noun phrase close-knit-modification margin

Constitutents:

It is possible for more than one filler to occur in the close-knit-modification margin (cf. Figure 29). The ordering of these is apparently in terms of semantic proximity to the nucleus of the noun phrase:

CM	Mar = ±	±	Mar	PropN	±	Mar	19	LocP	±	Mar	NP	±	Mar	VRt	)	+	Nuc	N	PropN
			Mod			Mod				Mod			Mod				It		
1.							<i>maka</i>				<i>ob</i>						<i>diynyi</i>		
							bird				kill						person		
2.		<i>Laji</i>			<i>dong tam</i>		<i>mutuk</i>										<i>siy</i>		
		Laji			beyond		mountain										name		
3.		<i>Bowski</i>					<i>duman nang</i>										<i>siy</i>		
		Bowski					valley people										name		

Figure 29.

Free translation:

1. The person who kills birds
2. The name of the mountain beyond Laji
3. The names of the peoples of the Bowski valley

4.2.2 Embedded locational phrase

A locational phrase (cf. Figure 30) as a noun phrase close-knit-modification margin consists of:

$$\text{LocP} = + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Desc}} \mid \frac{\text{Adj}}{\text{Adj}} + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{It}} \mid \text{tam}$$

Figure 30

e.g.	<i>bay tam</i>	outside/in the bush	<i>deyci tam</i>	behind
	<i>ay tam</i>	near hut/inside hut	<i>kiyng tam</i>	top
	<i>amwa tam</i>	under(neath)/beneath	<i>lulu tam</i>	bottom
	<i>damulub tam</i>	underside	<i>dong tam</i>	behind
	<i>urasiyn tam</i>	before	<i>kubkub(tam)</i>	side
	<i>bele tam</i>	opposite	<i>mowski tam</i>	end

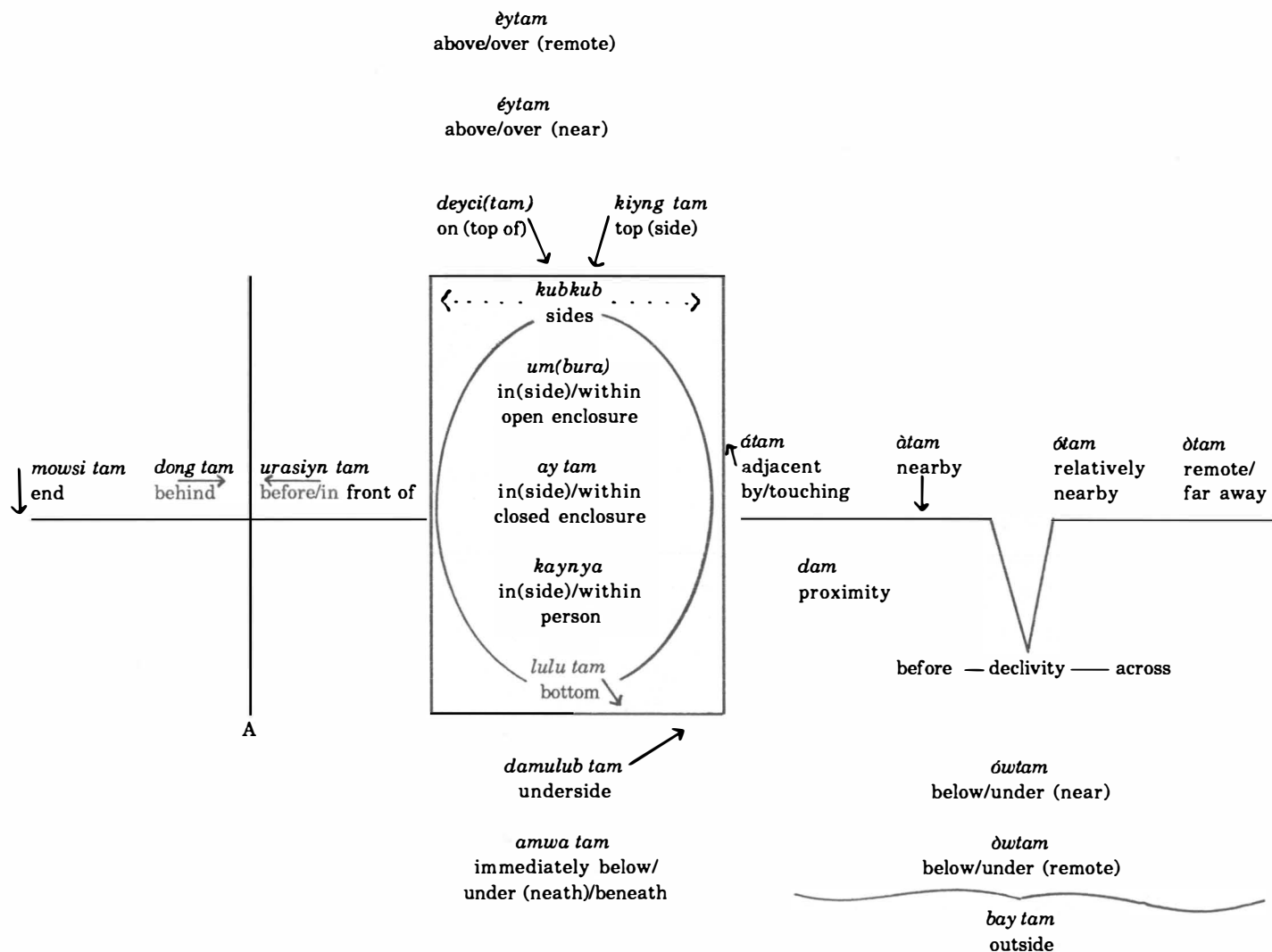


Figure 31. Relative locational position diagram

The diagram of Figure 31 gives an overview of the locatives described in the chapters 3.2.3 and 4.2.2. These locatives are used in Una to describe 'positions in space which a solid can occupy in relation to another solid and ... the horizon' (Hollenbach, 1978:10).

A solid may be either inside or outside, in proximity to, or at remote distance from, another solid. A solid in proximity to another solid, which means not across a declivity, and in line with the horizon, may be touching it, adjacent to it, or relatively nearby. When at a remote distance, it means automatically that the solid is located across a declivity²⁰ either at a relatively near or far away location.

The terms for 'inside' *ay tam* and *kaynya* are determined by the nature of the enclosing object, which can be respectively non-human and human, and by the degree of closure. A *tam* and *kaynya* are inside a complete closure, vs. *umbura* 'inside an open closure'.

'Inside' locatives consist of *lulu tam* '(on the) bottom' which signifies the inside of the solid toward the earth, *kubkub* 'the side more or less perpendicular to the horizon' and *kiyng tam* 'top(side)' which is that side of the solid which is more or less parallel with, but above, the horizon.

The outside of a solid which is more or less parallel with the horizon and toward the earth is called *damulub tam* 'underside'.

'Outside and touching' locatives consist of *amwa tam* 'immediately below on the side of the solid toward the earth', *átam* 'immediately by/adjacent' or *dam*, which has the same meaning as *átam* but with a wider threshold, on the side of the solid, and *deyci(tam)* 'on (top of)', that is, in the line drawn through the solid on the side above the horizon, and touching the solid.

'Outside and not touching' locatives differ from 'outside and touching' locatives only in that none of its three sub-categories refer to situations in which a solid is touched. Each of the three sub-categories is distinguished according to two degrees of relative distance from the solid: (*éytam/èytam* 'above', *átam/àtam* 'by/near', and *ótam/òtam* 'below').

Relative distance in the horizontal plane is distinguished according to the position of another solid before or across/beyond a declivity in the horizontal plane (*átam/àtam/dam* vs. *ótam/òtam*).

The position of another solid is distinguished according to its position in the horizontal plane in reference to a perpendicular 'A' (cf. perpendicular line 'A' in Figure 31) (*urasiyn tam* 'before/in front of' and *dong tam* 'behind/beyond').

4.2.3 Noun phrase restriction margin constituents

More than one filler can fill the noun phrase restriction margin. The order of fillers in terms of the semantic proximity to the nucleus of the noun phrase is shown in Figure 32.

NP Rest	Pro			Loc		N
Mar = ± <u>Mar</u> Rest	PropN ± <u>Mar</u> Rest	Neg ± <u>Mar</u> Rest	Temp ± <u>Mar</u> Rest	PropN + <u>Mar</u> Rest	V + Nuc It	PropN
1.				<i>en</i> speak	<i>uram</i> talk	
2.			<i>Okbab</i> Okbab	<i>baramnyi</i> went	<i>nang</i> people	
3. <i>Memer</i> Memer		<i>yuma</i> first		<i>nebmow</i> grew	<i>talak</i> time	
4. <i>nun</i> we	<i>kum</i> not			<i>(kuramowbwa)</i> ²¹ exist	<i>ay</i> time	

Figure 32.

Free translation:

1. (Oral) speech
2. The people who went to Okbab
3. The time when Memer was a youth
4. Before our time

4.2.4 Comparatives

The superlative element *iya* 'very/-est', or the diminutive element *mitik* 'a little/a bit' precedes the adjective in the quality margin of the noun phrase as shown in Figure 33.

AdjP = +		<i>mitik</i>	+	<i>iya</i>	+	<i>Nuc</i>	<i>Adj</i>
		<u>Mar</u> Sup/Dim				<u>Qual</u>	

Figure 33.

- e.g. 1. *iya teleb* 2. *iya miykiyb*
 'Very good/best' 'Very strong/strongest'
3. *mitik malyi* 4. *mitik yu*
 'A little bad' 'A bit angry'

4.2.5 Noun phrase coordinate complex conjoining

There are three ways in which noun phrases may be conjoined. The most common is the addition of *ton*, *ab*, or *kiya*²² 'and' at the end of each noun phrase being conjoined (cf.

When a qualifier (except a numeral) is used to describe a certain feature of all combined noun phrases, this will be stated explicitly by means of the adjective *niyya* 'all' preceding the qualifier at the end of the last noun phrase.

e.g. 1. *er-nayabwa ab er-kwinyabwa ab er-mamyabwa ab niyya teleb*
 her-father and her-mothers and her-maternal uncles and all nice
 'Her fathers, mothers and maternal uncles are all nice people'

4.3 Verb phrase hyper class

The Una verb phrase hyper class (cf. Figure 35) consists of a maximum of eight tagmemes. Only the nucleus is obligatory, and in most cases only a single verb fills the verb phrase nucleus.

Free translation: (Figure 35)

1. He went frequently
2. Go slowly
3. Maybe I slept
4. It went down again over there!
5. We will wait/watch
6. Arise
7. We will hide in a hurry in the bush
8. We said nothing
9. After both of them gathered
10. Don't lump your speech together
11. Don't steal
12. I don't (have fever)/lit.: The fever doesn't eat me
13. He laughs
14. I look/see

VPHC =	\pm Mar Mar	Adv AdvP	\pm Mar Locn	Loc	\pm Mar Rest	Adj	\pm Mar Neg	kum	\pm Mar It	NP	+ Nuc Pred	Vp >Tty>	\pm Mar Lim	kum ^{3x}	\pm Mar Prob	mem
1.		tum tum frequently									barut he went					
2.		nimalyok slowly									birum go (sg)					
3.											mabmase kum, kum kum I slept may be					
4.		tubto again	a there								yuryibawura it went down					
5.		diybde truly									bukwayeb we will sit					
6.		kam alive									bukokdum sit up (sg)					
7.		inyiyboka hiding	bay bush		akwa only						bindobkwayeb we will go					
8.							kum not				eramoubwa we said					
9.											dobmareyura after they two gathered					
10.		ulubyang ato fungus like									ena speak				mem don't	
11.											ukula steal				mem don't	
12.							kum not				yinmanir it eats me					
13.									akwa laugh		towbmar he cuts					
14.									asiyng eye		eybman I see					

Figure 35

The following tagmemes of the verb phrase can have multiple word fillers:

4.3.1 Verb phrase margin-as-manner constituents

Usually adverbs and adverb phrases fill the margin-as-manner tagmeme. The multiple word fillers which can fill the margin-as-manner tagmeme can be distinguished according to their grammatical denotation.

4.3.1.1 Iterative or frequentative aspect

The iterative aspect, sometimes called frequentative aspect or, as Bromley (1972:46) calls it, 'Abnormal continuative aspect', refers to an event or series of events continuing over a period of time, which frequently is or will be repeated, and might be interrupted. It is formed by a verb inflected by a continuous tense or continuous aspect infix, which is preceded by one of the free participles *tum tum* or *tuba tuba* 'time and again/ over and over again/ regularly/ frequently' of the verb phrase margin-as-manner tagmeme. The verbs within parentheses in the examples below do not belong in the margin-as-manner tagmeme.

- e.g. 1. *er Wasumuji tum tum ba-rut*
 he Wasumuji time and again go-cont t-3sg
 'He goes time and again to Wasumuji'
2. *er a uram er-siy tuba tuba e-ram-wa*
 she that story him-DAT frequently tell-contAsp-3pst t 3sg
 'She frequently tells that story'
3. *er tum tum ak-ay wengba-ram-wa*
 he regularly that-hut enter-contAsp-3sg
 'He entered that hut regularly'

4.3.1.2 Adverbialized noun

The adverbialized noun can also fill the margin-as-manner tagmeme. The noun is adverbialized by means of *ato* or *to* 'like'.

- e.g. *ulubyang ato ena mem*
 fungus like speak don't
 'Don't speak (indistinctly) like (a big lump of floppy) fungus'

4.3.2 Verb phrase margin-as-item constituents

Usually the margin-as-item tagmeme is filled by a noun.

- e.g. 1. *akwa towb-ma-r*
 laugh cut-incompAsp-3sg pr t
 'She laughs'
2. *asiyng eyb-ma-n*
 eye see-incompAsp-1sg pr t
 'I look/see'

4.3.3 Verb phrase margin-as-limitation constituents

A probabilitive mode marker *kum, kum kum* 'maybe' following a verb can fill the margin-as-limitation tagmeme. The probabilitive mode indicates an action which is likely to happen.

- e.g. 1. *bin-kwan-de kum, kum kum*
 go-3fut t-3sg maybe
 'Maybe he will come'
2. *yib-kwam-ing kum, kum kum*
 eat-3fut t-3pl maybe
 'Maybe they will eat'
3. *ururu yan-kwan-de kum, kum kum*
 airplane come-3fut t-3sg maybe
 'Maybe the airplane will come'
4. *a bisam ni-ja kum, kum kum*
 that pig my-PE maybe
 'Maybe that's my pig'
5. *er a ner ukula dob-ma-r kum, kum kum*
 he that woman kidnap-incompAsp-pr t 3sg maybe
 'Maybe he kidnaps that woman'

5. CLAUSAL SYNTAX

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the grouping of phrases into clauses will be described, together with the different case markers. A clause in Una can be described by Pike & Pike's (1982:438) definition

'A clause is the minimum unit in which a proposition is stated, i.e., in which something is said about terms; or in which a term (or terms) is (are) part of a statement, question, command, wish; an independent clause as initiating speech is simultaneously a sentence.'

5.2 Independent declarative clause

The independent declarative clause in Una consists of eight tagmemes (Louwerse 1978c, cf. Figure 36). The nucleus-as-predicate, which is obligatory, always fills the last position in the string of constituents. The unmarked order of the optional constituents (usually five or less) preceding the nucleus is: subject-as-actor, object-as-undergoer, adjunct-as-benefactee, margin-as-time, margin-as-location, margin-as-instrument, and margin-as-manner.

Indep.DeclCl =	± S A	PropN Pro NP >Disc	± O U	PropN Pro NP >Disc	± Ad Ben	PropN Pro NP >Disc	± Mar Tm	AdvP >Disc	± Mar Locn	PropN NP >Disc	± Mar Inst	PropN NP >Disc	± Mar Man	Adv NP >Disc	+ Nuc Pred	VPHC >Tty>
1.																<i>bana mem</i>
2.																go don't <i>yibanmow</i> passed by
3.	<i>ersiyenyi beji</i> his-boss ERG			<i>anyl biysiy</i> him DAT										<i>bowkwa weyk</i> love much		<i>kuramwa</i> had
4.	<i>sun</i> they													<i>da</i> last		<i>binmang</i> go
5.	<i>sunci</i> they-ERG			<i>er</i> him					<i>erwa dam aji</i> his-garden-LOC							<i>ngiyliykoka</i> <i>kolab kolab</i> <i>enmay</i> they stoned him
6.				<i>aling utotowa</i> <i>niynyi</i> clothes and all kinds of people						<i>me aji</i> water INST						<i>bobow</i> floated
7.	<i>erci</i>			<i>niynyi ko miy</i> <i>asiy</i> first born son NOM					<i>Langda atey</i> <i>aji</i> Langda village LOC							<i>deybermanir</i> bore me
8.	<i>ernay beji</i> his-father ERG			<i>er</i> him			<i>minob</i> first									<i>diynmow</i> saw
9.	<i>mo</i> rain															<i>cebmar</i> pours
10.	<i>er</i> he									<i>era mutuk</i> far away						<i>banmow kum</i> ²³ went not
11.	<i>anyi</i> that fellow						<i>belerukna</i> <i>kobrob</i> very early			<i>erwa dam</i> his-garden						<i>yurbinmo</i> descended
12.	<i>sunci</i> they-ERG			<i>a diynyi</i> that thing	<i>nunti</i> we-REF											<i>boyanmasing</i> brought for us
13.				<i>towayala</i> <i>toto</i> all kinds of vegetable plants	<i>sunti</i> they-REF					<i>eyliykobter</i> <i>um</i> inside the helicopter						<i>dongobmarey</i> they two loaded

Figure 36. Independent declarative clause

Free translation:

1. Do not go
2. It passed by
3. His boss loved/liked him very much
4. They went fast
5. They stoned him to death in his garden
6. Clothes and people floated (down the river)
7. She bore me my firstborn son in Langda
8. His father saw him first
9. It rains/pours rain
10. He did not go far
11. That fellow descended very early this morning to his garden
12. They brought along that thing for us
13. Both of them loaded for themselves all kinds of vegetables in the helicopter

5.2.1 Fronting of independent declarative clause

Constituents:

However, the linear arrangement of intra-clausal constituents is not as rigid as it appears to be from Figure 36. The less frequently occurring variants of the independent declarative clause, which can be 'fronted' are: Margin-as-instrument, margin-as-time, and subject-as-undergoer. 'Fronted' does not necessarily mean 'move to the very front' as can be seen in Figure 37 where fronting goes to the position following the subject pronoun.

These less frequently occurring variants have specific discourse functions, i.e., they are used to attract the addressee's attention to the fillers of a particular slot as contrasting with other fillers which might be more expected. The examples in Figures 37-39 illustrate the abnormal positioning of the independent declarative clause constituents.

5.2.1.1 Fronting of margin-as-instrument

Indep. Decl. Cl =	±	S	PropN Pro NP	±	Mar	NP	±	O	PropN Pro NP	±	Mar	NP	+	Pred	VRHC
		A	>Disc		Inst	>Disc		U	>Disc		Locn	>Disc		Sta	>Tty>
1.		<i>erci</i>			<i>ya aji</i>			<i>anyi</i>						<i>obmow</i>	
		he-ERG			axe INST			that person						he killed	
2.		<i>nun</i>			<i>ururu aji</i>			<i>kwaning</i>			<i>Sentani dam</i>			<i>bobinkwayeb</i>	
		we			airplane INST			sweet			Sentani place			we will	
								potatoes						transport	

Figure 37

Free translation:

1. He killed that fellow with an axe (not with an arrow).
2. We will transport the sweet potatoes by airplane to Sentani (and not by truck or canoe).

5.2.1.2 Fronting of margin-as-time

Indep.Decl.Cl = $\pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Tm}}$	$\frac{\text{AdvP}}{>\text{Disc}}$	$\pm \frac{\text{S}}{\text{A}}$	$\frac{\text{PropN Pro}}{\text{NP}} >\text{Disc}$	$\pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Man}}$	$\frac{\text{Adv}}{\text{NP}} >\text{Disc}$	$+ \frac{\text{Pred}}{\text{Sta}}$	$\frac{\text{VPHC}}{>\text{Tty}}$
1. <i>Memer yuma nebmow talak aji sun</i>			<i>ato</i>				<i>eramnyi</i>
Memer first grew up time		they	so				said
2. <i>A tum aji</i>		<i>ururu ton</i>					<i>kemow</i>
At that time		plane one					he circled

Figure 38

Free translation:

1. They said that when Memer was still young (and not recently ...).
2. At that time an airplane circled overhead (which was something never witnessed before, but is not something spectacular anymore).

5.2.1.3 Fronting of object-as-undergoer

Indep.Decl.Cl = $\pm \frac{\text{O}}{\text{U}}$	$\frac{\text{PropN Pro}}{\text{NP}} >\text{Disc}$	$\pm \frac{\text{S}}{\text{A}}$	$\frac{\text{PropN Pro}}{\text{NP}} >\text{Disc}$	$\pm \frac{\text{Man}}{\text{Tm}}$	$\frac{\text{AdvP}}{>\text{Disc}}$	$+ \frac{\text{Pred}}{\text{Sta}}$	$\frac{\text{VPHC}}{>\text{Tty}}$
1. <i>a tubang</i>		<i>nun</i>	<i>ambutum</i>				<i>talebkwayeb</i>
that tuan		we	tomorrow				we will take him along

Figure 39

Free translation:

1. We will take that white man along tomorrow (and not somebody else).

5.3 The cases

Una is a language in which the semantic relationships between participants, locations and objects within a clause are marked, where relevant, by means of case markers,

affixed to a personal pronoun or postposed to a particular noun or noun phrase. The Una case system is typically ergative - marking the agent - of a transitive finite verb. A complete listing of these case markers, and some appropriate glosses, are given below:

Cases and case morphemes:

Vocative:	-e following a sentence final primary verb. se following a sentence final primary verb, or prepositioned to a noun, proper noun or pronoun.
Ergative:	beji following a proper noun, inalienably-possessed kin term, nominalized word, or a noun inflected with the suffix -nyi 'person masculine'. aji following a noun or noun phrase. {-ci} following a personal pronoun.
Dative:	biysiy following a proper noun, inalienably-possessed kin term, or nominalized word inflected with the suffix -nyi 'person masculine'. -siy following a personal pronoun.
Nominative:	asiy following a noun or noun phrase.
Genitive:	personal pronoun cf. 3.2.1 prefixed to a noun.
Locative:	aji (kuboka) 'at, on, in, within, from'.
Allative:	unmarked 'to, towards' ²⁴ .
Instrumental:	aji 'with, by'.
Referential:	-ti 'for' and 'concerning, about, regarding'.
Reflexive:	-baramnyi '-self'.

5.3.1 Vocative case

The vocative case suffix -e, which is the same marker used for the emphatic mode, as described in 2.13.1 follows finite verbs. The vocative case marker *se* has the same semantic meaning, but is prepositioned to a noun, proper noun, pronoun or Ø in a sentence initial position and can be used only in direct address (i.e., when calling a person by name, in order to hold or attract his attention).

- e.g. 1. *se Kimum, kan unuto ate yib-ma-rim-do*
 VOC Kimum you what eat-incompAsp-2sg pt t-intrMode
 'Hey, Kimum, what do you eat?'

2. *se, nun Langda nang teneboka bowkwa kuboka*
 VOC we Langda people thinking liver being
ya-y
 come-3pst t compAsp 1pl
 'Hey, we came thinking about you Langda people, and loving you!'
3. *a nun-dinyi, doboka iyniyb-dob-kwa-yeb-e*
 that our-things grabbing hide-causVc-3fut t-1pl-VOC
 'Hey, that's ours, let's grab it and hide it!'

5.3.2 Ergative case

The subject of a transitive finite verb is marked by the ergative case and occurs in three distinct forms:

- (a) *beji* 'ERG' when it follows a proper noun, inalienably-possessed kin term, or nominalized word inflected with the suffix *-nyi* 'person masculine'.

- e.g. 1. *Nyonya beji atam dob-kwete-bok-m-ow*
 Nyonya ERG there grab-throw-causVc-incompAsp-3pst t3sg
 'Nyonya threw it there'
2. *Endok beji ira kareb-m-ow*
 Endok ERG beads give-incompAsp-3pst t3sg
 'Endok gave beads'
3. *Nun-siyenyi beji sun-siy ato eb-m-ow*
 our-headman ERG them-DAT like tell-incompAsp-3pst t3sg
 'Our headman told them so'
4. *er Yuma Menteb-mo-nyi beji kwaning ilinto*
 he Long-time-ago Grown-up One ERG sweet potatoes many
yi-n-ma-r
 eat-momAsp-incompAsp-prt t 3sg
 'The Old Man eats lots of sweet potatoes'
5. *ni-nay beji niy-siy siyenyi kib-reyb-ma-n-ow*
 my-father ERG me-DAT headman be-causVc-incompAsp-1sgU-3pst t 3sg
 'My father installed me as headman'

- (b) *aji* 'ERG when it follows a noun or noun phrase.

- e.g. 1. *ton nang aji ato eb-ma-y*
 some persons ERG like say-incompAsp-3pst t3pl
 'Some said so'
2. *Malyo ner aji deyanci miy alok asiy kareb-darut*
 M.clan woman ERG born child firstborn NOM give-Imp3pl
 'Give it to the oldest son of the Malyo woman'

3. *Tuan beji Nyonya ab aji kwaning bob-ma-ring*
 Tuan ERG Nyonya and ERG sweet potatoes carry-incompAsp-pr t-2dl
 'The Tuan and the Nyonya carry sweet potatoes'

(c) {-ci} 'ERG' when it follows a personal pronoun.

Progressive assimilation occurs as follows:

{-ci} 'ERG'

-ji / —i

-ci / elsewhere

ni-ji by me

nun-ci by us

kan-ci by you(sg)

sùn-ci by you (dl/pl)

er-ci by him/her

sún-ci by them (dl/pl)

- e.g. 1. *ni-ji sun-si: Ni li' eb-ma-se*
 I-ERG them-DAT I don't want tell-incompAsp-3pst t 1sg
 'I told them: "I don't want it"'
2. *kan-ci saboka kareb-nu-rum*
 you(sg)-ERG tobacco give-1sgSc-2sg Imp
 'Please give some tobacco'
3. *er-ci kaling tentok kareb-kwan-si-r*
 he-ERG necklace one give-3 fut t-1plSc-2sg
 'He will give a necklace to us'
4. *nun-ci uram diyb-kwa-yeb*
 we-ERG talk support-3fut t-3sg
 'We will support you verbally'
5. *sun-ci er-siy yina tubatuba kare-ram-nyi*
 they-ERG he-DAT food regularly give-cont t-3pl
 'They give him regularly food'

5.3.3 Dative case

Two dative case markers are optionally used in Una to indicate the noun, noun phrase, or personal pronoun which marks the indirect object of the verb (i.e., the person to whom the action mentioned in the verb is designated.) Specific features in the higher levels of the hierarchy, like the discourse, sometimes cause zero dative case marking. The two distinct forms are:

- (a) *biysiy* 'DAT' is used when it follows a proper noun, inalienably-possessed kin term, or nominalized word inflected with the suffix *-nyi* 'person masculine'.

- e.g. 1. *ni ilil weyk kuboka Musa biysiy eb-ma-se*
 I fear great being Musa DAT talk-incompAsp-3pst 1sg
 'I was very much afraid when I talked to Musa'

2. *nun iyna Nyonya biysiy bob-kwa-yeb*
we reeds Nyonya DAT carry-3fut t-1pl
'We will carry the reeds to the Nyonya'
3. *er-ci er-kwin biysiy yina kareb-m-ow*
he-ERG his-mother DAT food give-incompAsp-3pst t-3sg
'He gave the food to his mother'
4. *er-ci a miy er-nay biysiy kweteboka tamurkareb-m-ow*
he-ERG that boy his-father DAT healing return-incompAsp-3pst t-3sg
'He returned the boy healed to his father'

The following sentence has zero dative case marking:

5. *sun-ci ak-ay dam-nyi Ø uram eb-ma-y*
they-ERG that-hut place-person DAT talk speak-incompAsp-3pst t-3pl
'They spoke to the landlord'

(b) *-siy* 'DAT' is used when it follows a personal pronoun.

<i>niy-siy</i>	to me	<i>nun-siy</i>	to us
<i>kan-siy</i>	to you(sg)	<i>sùn-siy</i>	to you (dl/pl)
<i>er-siy</i>	to him/her	<i>sún-siy</i>	to them (dl/pl)

Vowel reduplication occurs in: [[*nisiy*]] → *niysiy*

- e.g. 1. *er-ci niy-siy ato eb-ma-n-ow*
he-ERG me-DAT like tell-incompAsp-1sgSc-3pst t-3sg
'He told it like that to me'
2. *kan-siy kit kim-dut-nyi*
you-DAT spell be-cont t-person
'You are bewitched' (lit. 'a spell has been cast on you and remains with you')
 3. *ni-ji sun-siy eb-kwin-si-n: Ato mem!*
I-ERG you(pl) DAT tell-1fut-2plSc-1sg: So don't
'I tell (to) you, don't do it!'
 4. *sun er-siy bowkwa ku-ran-dey*
they her-DAT liver be-cont t-2dl
'They two love her' (lit. 'They two gave their livers to her')

5.3.4 Nominative case

The subject of an intransitive verb is indicated by the nominative case marker *asiy* which follows a noun or noun phrase.

- e.g. 1. *eyliykobter asiy teleb*
helicopter NOM nice
'The helicopter is nice'
2. *sun Iymerbun ku-n-ma-y nang asiy*
they Iymerbun be-momAsp-incompAsp-3pst t3pl people NOM
ato eb-ma-rey
like say-incompAsp-3pst t 3dl
'That's what the people who were at Iymerbun said'
3. *a niynyi asiy, sun iysa*
these people NOM they ghosts
'These people are ghosts'
4. *sun Langda nang kaynya asiy: Nun ilil*
they Langda people inside NOM We amazement
teneb-ma-y
think-incompAsp-3pst t-3pl
'The Langda people were amazed' (lit. 'The insides of the Langda people thought: We are amazed')

5.3.5 Genitive case

The genitive case is indicated by a personal pronoun which is always prefixed to a noun, see: 3.2.1, for example,

<i>ni- nay</i>	<i>er- yin</i>	<i>kan- bisam</i>	<i>nun- ya</i>
1sgGEN-father	3sgGEN-bow	2sgGEN-pig	1plGEN-axe
'My father'	'His bow'	'Your pig'	'Our axes'

5.3.6 Locative case

The locative case marker *aji* (*kuboka*) indicates both the exterior or adessive markers 'at/on', and the interior or inessive markers 'in/within'. The locative case marker always follows the noun or noun phrase which indicates an open location unless the *aji* is explicitly preceded by a word like *ay dam, umbura, ay umbura* etc., describing an enclosed space.

- e.g. 1. *sun niyja atey tam aji yok niyja korob-kwan-si-r*
they all village place LOC knees all shake-3fut t-3plU-3sg
'Everybody at the village square had shaking knees'
2. *nun bay tam aji maka iynkiyriyngde ku-ra-m-owbwa*
we bush LOC bird searching be-contAsp-incompAsp-3pst t-1pl
'We were searching/hunting for birds in the bush'

3. *Mumuji atey aji iyna yan-kweb-ma-y*
 Mumuji hamlet LOC reed come-cut-incompAsp-3pst t-3pl
 'They came cutting reed at the Mumuji hamlet'
4. *kan ay umbura aji co uk dongob-ru-m*
 you hut inside LOC wood fire put-imperVc-2sg
 'Please put wood on the fire in the hut'

The locative case marker *aji* in combination with an optional infinitive verb *kuboka* 'being' following a noun or noun phrase, indicates a separation, meaning 'from'. Either *aji* or *aji kuboka* has this kind of ablative case marker function. They precede exclusively one of the verbs of motion *bin-* 'go' or *yan-* 'come' depending on the point of focus of the narrator. When *kuboka* is absent, and *aji* is used in combination with a verb of motion, it has to be decided from the context of the discourse what is the exact meaning of *aji* 'at/on/in/within' or 'from', and this is not always a clear-cut decision. In cases where there is a 'from' and a 'to' phrase, the 'to' phrase is not locatively marked.

- e.g. 1. *sun niyja eytam aji aling ay dam yan-garam-nyi*
 they all upthere LOC material hut place come-contAsp-pr t-3pl
 'They are all coming from up there to the place of the tent'
2. *fer Bomela aji kuboka Langda yan-mo-w*
 he Bomela LOC Langda come-incompAsp-3pst t-3sg
 'He came from Bomela to Langda'
3. *er ak-atey aji kuboka niynyi kum ay dam*
 he that-village LOC being people not place
tamur-bin-mo-w
 return-go-incompAsp-3pst t-3pl
 'He returned from that village to the desolate place'
4. *iyam tam aji bebe sak-mo-w*
 sky place LOC lightning fall-incompAsp-3 pst t-3sg
 'Lightning struck from heaven'

5.3.7 Instrumental case

The instrumental case is marked by *aji* 'with/by (means of)'.

- e.g. 1. *ururu aji²⁵ teleb diynyi bo-yan-ma-s-ow*
 plane INST nice items carry-come-incompAsp-plBen-3pst t-3sg
 'He brought nice items for us with the airplane'
2. *sun-ci a nang asiy keyl aji²⁶ yongoboka*
 you-ERG these people NOM rocks INST throwing
ob-man-daw
 kill-incompAsp-2pst t-2pl
 'With rocks you stoned these people to death'

3. *a uram deyok aji sun-kaynya ilil weyk kub-m-ow*
 that story INST their-hearts fear much be-incompAsp-3pst t-3sg
 'That story created fear in their hearts' (lit. 'By means of that story fear was created in their hearts')
4. *Dabumar keta aji win kum dan-kwan-si-r*
 sago INST nuts not be-3fut t-3sgBen-3sg
 'That sago makes that we will have no more nuts' (lit. 'With that sago you will cause all pandanus nuts to disappear')

5.3.8 Referential case

The suffix *-ti* which has two distinct, although related, functions is suffixed to a personal pronoun.

- (a) The first function is that of marking the benefactee to which the sentence final primary verb refers. The person to which the benefactory suffix of the verb refers should be the same as the one of the pronoun to which the referential case marker is suffixed. In this function *-ti* means 'for'.

- e.g. 1. *a nun-ti bo- yan-ma-s-ing*
 that us-REF carry-come-incompAsp-1plBEN-pr t-3pl
 'They bring that for us'
2. *er Bera beji er-ti kwalina weyk kwaleb-m-Ø-ow*
 he Bera ERG him-REF meal big cook-incompAsp-3sgBEN-3pst t3sg
 'Bera cooked a big meal for him'
3. *ni-ji a diynyi sun-ti kareb-kwan-si-n*
 I-ERG that thing them-REF give-3fut t-3plBEN-1sg
 'I will give that thing for them'

- (b) The second function of the referential case suffix *-ti* is that of reference (in the proper sense of the word) to a person or thing. In that function *-ti* means 'concerning/about/regarding', and in this case the category of person denoted by the personal pronoun to which *-ti* is suffixed is never marked in the verb.

- e.g. 1. *yuknyi tentok ni-ti uram e-ru-t*
 another one me-REF talk speak-cont t-3sg
 'Somebody else speaks regarding me'
2. *er-ci sun-siy kan-ti eb-m-ow*
 he-ERG them-DAT you-REF speak-incompAsp-3pst t-3sg
 'He spoke to them regarding you'
3. *kan-ci er-siy a deyok ni-ti molob-rum*
 you-ERG him-DAT that matter me-REF ask-2sgImpMode
 'Please ask him about this matter concerning me'

4. *ni-kayna er-ti en uram aji ilil weyk kub-ma-ni-r*
 my-inside him-REF talk INST fear much be-incompAsp-1sgU-3sg
 'I am anxious about what is said about him'
5. *er-ti ba*
 he-REF Emph
 'He is the one!'

5.3.9 Reflexive case

The reflexive case suffix *-baramnyi* 'self' has two distinct, although related, functions:

- (a) If the person(s) occupying an agent role realized as subject of a verb is/are co-referential with the person(s) occupying the role of personal object elsewhere within the sentence, whether direct or indirect and regardless of the oblique roles involved, then the reflexive case suffix *-baramnyi* 'self' is used following the personal pronoun in the subject slot.
- (b) If the person(s) is/are not co-referential then *-baramnyi* 'self' has the semantic meaning of an intensifier.

e.g. meaning 1:

1. *"er-baramnyi lem-dana teleb" eb-ma-y*
 he-REFL save-ImpersVc good say-incompAsp-3sg3pst t
 'They said: "Let him save himself!"'
2. *sun-baramnyi diyboka kalik-dan-darut*
 you(pl)-REFL truly watch-RecVc-3pl ImpMode
 'Watch yourselves!'

e.g. meaning 2:

1. *er-baramnyi but ton, uk uboka ton bin-m-ow*
 he-REFL knife c.c. fire flaming cc go-incompAsp-3sg pst t
 'He himself carried the knives and the torch'
2. *sun-baramnyi aji: A diynyi teleb*
 you(pl)-REFL ERG: That thing good
kum tene-ran-dum-do
 not think-RecVc-3plpr t-contAsp-IntrMode
 'Why don't you judge for yourselves what is right?'

6. SENTENCE STRUCTURE

6.1 Introduction

A sentence in Una consists of an independent declarative clause, comparative clause, equational clause, interrogative clause, descriptive clause, quotative clause or exclamation clause, preceded by associated clauses plus or minus a repetition or recapitulation clause in sentence-initial position.

It can also be said that the sentence in Una consists of an obligatory final clause, with one or more optional medial clauses and an optional repetition/recapitulation clause. Furthermore, the inflection of the verbs which fill the predicate slot of the clause and show the inter-clausal structure within the sentence, reveal the class to which they belong. They can be categorized as in Figure 40 below:


	MEDIAL	SENTENCE VERB	FINAL
DEPENDENT	-ura {-nyura }		{-ca}
INDEPENDENT	-bok {-iyjok} {-iyji} {-nyi}		1. Implicit 2. Explicit

Figure 40. Sentence-position verb class matrix

The linear structure of the dependent sentence medial verb is shown in Figure 6. For a summary of the dependent sentence medial verb final suffixes see 2.11: Overview of switch-reference markers.

The linear structure of the independent sentence final verb is shown in Figure 4 and 6, but the dependent sentence medial verb final suffixes *-ura*, *{-nyura}*, *-bok*, *{-iyjok}*, *{-iyji}* or *{-nyi}* are obligatory absent. The dependent sentence medial verbs are dependent on the independent sentence final verb as shown in Figure 40. The independent sentence final verb can also (exclusively in the case of the verb 'to be') be

implicit. (In case a sentence final verb is not explicitly stated, semantically it is present, and therefore it could be said that sentence final verbs can be either explicit or implicit.)

- e.g. 1. *a Lub Bisam iysa mer* (\emptyset = *kurut*)
 these Rotten Pig ghosts bunch (be)
 'These are the ghosts of the Rotten Pig' (mythical ancestor)

Only one dependent sentence final verb suffix {-*ca*} occurs in the potential mode (cf. 2.12.5 example 1) which refers back to the dependent sentence medial verb with the suffix -*ura*.

Probably the most intriguing aspect of non-Austronesian languages such as Una is the inordinate length of some of their sentences. These seemingly endless sentences²⁷ consist of chronological or thematic chaining of clauses (cf. 8.5.5.1.2). One or more sentences form a paragraph.

6.2 Single clauses

The minimal form of a sentence contains only one explicit or implicit final primary²⁸ predication verb. The various types of clauses are presented below:

6.2.1 Independent declarative clause

The constituents of this independent declarative clause have been described in 5.2.

- e.g. 1. *ey sak-ma-r*
 up there fall-incompAsp-3sg3pr t
 'It falls up there'
2. *er akatey bin-mo-w*
 he that village go-incompAsp-3sg3pst t
 'He walked to that village'

6.2.2 Quotative clause

A quotative clause consists of quote preceded by an optional subject tagmeme and preceded or followed by an optional predicate tagmeme filled by a primary predicate or verb phrase such as *eb-* 'say/speak/tell' etc., denoting a communication act.

- e.g. 1. "*Ukula mem*" *ato eb-ma-y*
 "Steal not" like say-incompAsp-3pl3pst t
 'They said, "Don't steal"'
2. "*Ni niymiy wiyliyba*" *eb-mo-w*
 "I my-children interpreter" say-incompAsp3pst t-3sg
 'I am the interpreter for you my children' he said'

6.2.3 Identification clause

An identification clause consists of two or more noun phrases with an optional primary predication.

- e.g. 1. *A Basekaliy nang, ton Korubun nang (ku-nung)*
 these P.V. people one Korubun person (be-3pl cont t)
 'These are Pass Valley people, and he is from Koruppun'

6.2.4 Equational clause

An equational clause consists of a subject tagmeme and a predicate tagmeme which is filled by a noun phrase or locative and does not include a primary predication.

- e.g. 1. *A niynyi asiy, sun iysa*
 these people NOM they ghosts
 'These people are ghosts'
2. *Sun nerabwa asiy, ey-tam*
 they women NOM up there-place
 'The women are up there'
3. *A, dan atey nang*
 that what village people
 'Where are these people from?'

Proper nouns do not have genitive case markers, but their possessive relationship is indicated also by means of an equational clause.

- e.g. 1. *a yina, Karba yina*
 that food Karba food
 'That food is Karba's'
2. *ak-ay, Yiybiyk ay*
 that-hut Yiybiyk hut
 'That hut is Yiybiyk's'
3. *a kwaning, bisam kwaning*
 these sweet potatoes, pigs sweet potatoes
 'These sweet potatoes are the pigs'
4. *ey mutuk niyja, Langda mutuk*
 that up there mountain all Langda mountain
 'That mountain up there is the Langda people's'

6.2.5 Interrogative clause

An interrogative clause consists of an optional subject tagmeme, and a predicate tagmeme filled by an obligatory interrogative, followed by an obligatory noun or noun phrase and an optional primary predication.

- e.g. 1. (er) *dan tam* (ku-n-ma-r)
 he what place be-durAsp-incompAsp-pr t-3sg
 ‘Where (is he)’?
2. (kan) *unuto ate* (ku-ran-dim)
 you what about be-pr t contAsp-2sg
 ‘What about (your doing)’?

6.2.6 Descriptive clause

A descriptive clause consists of a subject tagmeme and a predicate tagmeme filled by an adjective or numeral, followed by an optional primary predication.

- e.g. 1. *er-kaynya bitinyi* (ku-ru-t)
 his inside two be-cont t-3sg
 ‘He has two insides/he is unreliable’
2. *ak-atey nang teleb* (ku-nu-ng)
 that-village people nice/good be-cont t-3sg
 ‘The people from that village are nice’

6.2.7 Exclamation clause

Exclamations and vocatives usually precede all other clause constituents. They are used to attract the addressee's attention, and are usually bound by pauses to the other clause constituents. The following examples in Figure 41 illustrate their positioning:

Excl. Cl = ± <u>Mar</u> <u>Voc</u> Excl		± <u>S</u> A	PropN Pro NP >Disc	± <u>Mar</u> Locn	PropN NP >Disc	+ <u>Pred</u> Sta	<u>VPHC</u> >Tty>
1. <i>se nayabwa</i> VOC my-ancestors	<i>er</i> she		<i>dan tam</i> what place		<i>binmar</i> she goes		
2. <i>bisam kalyi kob</i> pig pork rind					<i>obminyay</i> watch it he will beat me up		
3. <i>se Karba</i> VOC Karba	<i>kan</i> you				<i>unu kubmarim</i> what do you		

Figure 41.

1. Oh my ancestors, where does she go to?
2. Pork rind watch it, he will beat me up!
3. Hey Karba, what in the world are you doing?

6.2.8 Genitive clause

The predicative enclitic {-ca} implies the exclusive possession by the referent of a certain object, and is always suffixed to a personal pronoun which follows the noun or noun phrase, cf. 3.2.1.

- e.g. *a bisam ni-ja* *a meyok er-ca*
 that pig 1sg-PE that gourd 3sg-PE
 'That pig is mine!' 'That's his gourd!'
- a wa kan-ca* *a kama nun-ca*
 that garden 2sg-PE that digging-stick 1pl-PE
 'That garden is yours!' 'That's our digging-stick!'

6.2.9 Infinite verbal clause

Single clauses can contain besides the obligatory explicit or implicit final primary predication (cf. 6.2) also one or more verbs indicated by a verb stem with the suffix *-oka*. Those verbs denote that a secondary action is performed by the same actor as that of the following primary predication. Those secondary predications indicate illustrative or background actions in the discourse. The verbs with the suffix *-oka* never have any aspect, mode, person, or tense inflection.

- e.g. 1. *Kiykmay nang buk-oka bay binsek-ma-y*
 Kiykmay people sit-ing bush flee-incompAsp-3pst t 3pl
 'After the Kiykmay people sat (there) they fled away'
2. *yan-doka buk-ma-se*
 com-ing sit-incompAsp-3pst t 1sg
 'I sat down after I arrived'
3. *yowb-kiyriyk-oka weynya yowb-ma-rey*
 set traps-search-ing marsupial trap-incompAsp-3pst t 2dl
 'After both of them had searched and set traps they caught a marsupial'

6.2.10 Repetitive infinite verbal clause

Repetitive infinite verbs denote repetitions of mainly kinesic actions of illustrative or background events in the discourse. These actions cover only a short period of time, in contrast to the iterative or frequentative aspect verbs (cf. 4.3.1.1).

- e.g. 1. *towb-oka towb-oka mining-yan-ma-n-darut*
 cut-ing cut-ing supply-come-incompAsp-cont t Imp Mode 2pl
 'Cut everywhere and come and supply me (with poles)'
2. *liyb-oka liyb-oka yan-ma-ng*
 pull-ing pull-ing come-incompAsp-pr t 3pl
 'They come dragging (him from one place to the other)'
3. *inyiyb-oka inyiyb-oka ku-ra-mowbwa*
 hide-ing hide-ing be-contAsp-3pst t 1pl
 'We were hiding everywhere'

6.2.11 Sequential infinite verbal clause

Sequential infinite verbs denote illustrative or background events of the discourse in consecutive order. The occurrence of the sequential form of infinite verbs is limited. The linear sequence parallels the temporal sequence; i.e., the first infinite verb denotes the first of sequential events, etc.

- e.g. 1. *kub-oka anab-oka bin-ma-y*
 be-ing appear-ing go-incompAsp-3pst t 3pl
 'After they had been (inside) they appeared (outside) and went away'
2. *cung bin-doka iyriybtaleb-oka kiyb-m-ow*
 fast go-ing grasp-ing fill-incompAsp-3 pst t 3sg
 'He was grasping around and filled his stringbag while he ran away'
3. *buk-oka tik-oka welebin-m-ow*
 sit-ing stand-ing ascend-incompAsp-3pst t 3sg
 'After he sat (there) he arose and climbed (the mountain)'

6.3 Multiple clause sentence

In case a sentence contains two or more clauses chained together, the verbs of all but the final clause are dependent verbs. Only the verb of the final clause is an independent verb.

Dependent verbs can contain the same indicators as the independent verbs, but differ from them in having an obligatory dependent preview aspect, a successive aspect, a simultaneous aspect, or a simultfactive aspect suffix (cf. 2.11), or they do not have one of the above mentioned dependent aspect suffixes, but are followed by one of the free form coordinate conjunctors *ani*, *ba*, *asiy*, or *ate*.

In a sequence of events an event may be chained forward to the next event by a verb with the dependent preview aspect suffixes *-ura*, *uca*, or *-obora* (cf. 2.11.4) and at the same time the sentence can be linked backward to the preceding event stated at the end of the previous sentence by means of an initial verb with one of these suffixes.

6.4 Clause coordinate complex alternation

When there is a choice to be indicated between two or more entities the *kum* 'question marker' will be attached at the end of each clause. These positive-negative markers *kum* ... *kum* 'or' (cf. Figure 42) behave as interrogatives and are also called double alternation markers. As such, they do not co-occur with the polar interrogative suffix {-do}; e.g.

Cl	Coor	Cx	Alternation	= + Nuc ¹ It	Cl	+	Mar Alt	<i>kum</i>	+	Nuc ² It	Cl	+	Mar Alt	<i>kum</i>
1.				<i>kanyin</i> your bow			<i>kum</i> or			<i>niyin</i> my bow			<i>kum</i> or	
2.				<i>a biysiyk</i> that trail			<i>kum</i> or			<i>o biysiyk</i> that trail			<i>kum</i> or	

Figure 42

Free translation:

1. Is that your bow, or mine?
2. That trail, or that one?

- e.g. 1. *ambutum yan-kwa-n kum, amdiy yan-kwa-n kum*
tomorrow come-3fut t-1sg or within two days come-3fut t-1sg or
'Shall I come tomorrow or within two days?'
2. *ni-kwit, kan- mabwa miy kum, neybnyi kum*
my-friend your- children boy or girl or
'My friend, are your children boys or girls?'
3. *a kam Ningning kam kum, nu-nay kam kum*
that dog Ningning dog or our-father dog or
'Is that dog Ningning's dog or our father's dog?'
4. *a teleb kum, malyi kum; ni walwal*
that good or bad or I don't know
'Is that good or bad; I don't know'

6.5 Clause final intonational features

A characteristic intonational feature of final verbs, which indicate primary predictions, terminates a paragraph. This is a final intonation lower than any other low tone in the paragraph. The intonational pattern on the final syllable is a high-low glide. This is true for all paragraph final verbs, except for final verbs with interrogative inflection.

- e.g. 1. *kub-kwa-yeb-do*
do-3fut t-1pl-intrMode
'What shall we do?'
2. *er diyboka yan-kwan-de-do*
she truly come-3fut t-3sg-intrMode
'Is it true that she will come?'

7. PARAGRAPH STRUCTURE

7.1 Introduction

A discourse is made up of a series of paragraphs which consist of sentences linked by optional LINKAGE (cf. 6.1). These sentences, in turn, are made up of lower level units of the grammatical hierarchy; e.g. clause, phrase, word and morpheme as described in previous chapters.

Thematic unity of a paragraph is the most important evidence found for the justification of the validity of the paragraph as a unit in the grammatical hierarchy of Una.

In the expository discourse, described in chapter eight (cf. Appendix A), a sentence announcing the theme forms the nucleus of a paragraph. The paragraph is built around this nucleus which gives cohesion to a paragraph by describing the development of the theme. This is mainly done by means of expansion, and to a greater or lesser degree by rhetorical underlining, assertion, reassertion, commentary, contrast, response, conclusion, recapitulation, assumption and questions (cf. Figure 45 in chapter eight).

The paragraph theme occurs initially in the first sentence of a paragraph. The paragraph theme often reappears in the last sentence of the paragraph in conclusive remarks; (e.g. sentences 93, 124, 131, 158, 161 and 177 of the text of Appendix A to which all sentence-numbered examples refer) or recapitulatory remarks (e.g. sentences 125, 151 and 182). In this way the beginning and the end of a theme, which form the bounds of a paragraph, are indicated.

The characteristic paragraph final intonational feature consists of a final low intonation lower than any other low tone in the paragraph. The intonational pattern on the final syllable is a high-low glide. This is true for all paragraph final words, except for paragraph final words with interrogative inflection as; e.g. in sentence 72: *kubkwayebdo* (we-shall-do-what) 'What shall we do?'. In summary, thematic and grammatical unity in combination with phonological reinforcement justify the validity of the paragraph as a grammatical unit.

Backflash is found in Una exclusively between paragraphs and never within the paragraph (cf. 8.5.2.4, sentences 22—>19, 41—>39, 46—>34, 51—>49 etc.). Backflash is indicative, therefore, of a paragraph boundary.

The occurrence of the characteristic constituents of beginning, contrast, rhetorical underlining, conclusion and finis (cf. Figure 45) at the beginning or end of a unit often serves to mark off paragraphs from each other. These characteristic constituents might indicate the psychological need of the speaker to 'declutch' before 'shifting gears' to the

next development of the theme. It seems like there is often a certain reluctance of the speaker to plunge immediately into the next stage in the development of the theme. Psychologically it seems necessary that the speaker spends at least one sentence to orient himself and the audience, by means of a brief review, conclusion or rhetorical underlining of a previous subtopic, or a brief hint about the next one.

In a sequence of events an event may be chained forward to the next event, and at the same time the sentence can be linked backward to the preceding event, stated in a previous sentence, by means of an INITIAL verb. This initial verb appears only in the first clause of a sentence which repeats the previous event, and therefore might be called, 'REPETITION or RECAPITULATION CLAUSE' (Longacre, 1972:45). For example the initial clauses of sentences 4-13 (cf. Figure 43) repeat the previous events.

Usually, the paragraphs or points within the exposition terminate with a final verb. (Cf. sentences 1, 4, 25, 38, 49, 53, 54, 55, 56, 59, 60, 70b, 80, 83, 85, 86, 88, 91, 97, 108, 115, 125, 132, 133, 139, 143, 147, 150, 151b, 154, 158, 161, 168, 177 and 179).

Thoughts or quotations form an exception to this rule, due to the fact that they often do not have a sentence/paragraph final verb. For example, in sentence 90, a sentence/paragraph final thought is expressed without a final verb. The paragraph final quotations are in the sentences 93, 100, 106, 136, 150 and 170. Besides thoughts and quotations which form an exception on the paragraph final verb rule, two more exceptions to this rule are found in the sample text. These two exceptions are found in the sentences 126 and 183: *nuram kum* 'I didn't say that' lit. 'my speech not' and *siyya* 'that's it' lit. 'end'. These are expressions which do not require a final verb. Sentences do not have to end in a final verb; (e.g. sentence 109 etc.). They can even be completely verbless. Such sentences can occur as a quote final within a paragraph; e.g., sentences 100 and 106.

As stated earlier, in case a sentence final verb is not explicitly stated, semantically it is present, and therefore it could be said that sentence final verbs can be either explicit or implicit. Therefore, a sentence may contain one or more medial verbs followed by an explicit or implicit final primary predication. See for example the explicit final primary predication in sentence 35: *ey sakmar* 'it falls up there', or an implicit final primary predication in sentence 100: "*Urrrrru Basbaliy*" ($\emptyset = ebmow$) ('he said,') "we came with the airplane from the Pass Valley", or a medial primary predication in sentence 58: *sun diybde bukmaybok*, "... *ebmay* 'while he waited they said, "...".

8. EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE

8.1 Introduction

In previous chapters it has been described how the various components of Una morphology and syntax function. We have noted that none of these levels is autonomous and therefore it is impossible to describe the grammar of any level without reference to the other levels.

Although the contents of the previous chapters describe Una grammar hierarchy from the morpheme level via word, phrase, clause and sentence up to the paragraph level, this is still not sufficient to generate natural, i.e., well formed strings in Una monologue or dialogue. In order to accomplish this, reference should be made to the rules operating at the discourse level itself (cf. Louwerse 1978d, 1985d). Therefore, in this chapter, the grammatical relationships of a specific Una discourse genre – the expository discourse – will be described.

The appended natural discourse is largely unedited, except for incidental phonological corrections of incoherent speech. It was recorded on tape in the field and discussed at length with Niykowdeymus Balyo, my chief language informant. As spoken language within a social context, it was accepted as natural and grammatical. Commas have been used to show where the speaker paused when giving the discourse.

Una expository discourse may be viewed as a hierarchy made up of paragraphs, sentences, clauses and lower grammatical levels. (It is exceptionally important to master the Una verb morphology in order to be able to recognize the small details of the discourse. In Una combinations of verb suffixes can form some 7427 different verbs from one verb root (cf. Louwerse, 1982a:5) which indicate a variety of relations within the discourse.) It is necessary also at the same time to view the discourse as made up of a semantic or notional structure which has three major parts, namely:

1. the discourse topic, the topic of the exposition,
2. the development (or exposition) of the topic, and
3. the closure.

The body of the discourse, in which the topic of the exposition develops, consists of units interrelated by three semantic relationships:

- (a) condition,
- (b) result, and
- (c) reason.

The two primary parameters found in Una expository discourse are logical linkage (cf. Figure 46) and thematic orientation.

Although chronological linkage occurs within this overall expository discourse, it is incorrect to say that chronological linkage is a feature of Una expository discourse. As is evident from the sentence time span and cohesion chart (Figure 46), chronological linkage occurs mainly in the first paragraph. Therefore, this paragraph should be considered to be an embedded narrative discourse within an overall expository discourse.

Following the two primary parameters, secondary parameters of projection and tension can be added. A variety of projection involves embedded prophecy and prediction (sentences 54-55) of future stage events; (e.g. sentences 155-158 of the sample text). Such extrapolations are clearly plus projection. The final parameter is tension. Furthermore, varieties of argumentation are involved which also show plus tension.

In this section an analysis of the communication situation and the fundamental hierarchical structure of Una expository discourse will be presented. Furthermore, the overall discourse structure, the notional relationship and the surface realization of the notional structure will be discussed.

8.2 The communication situation

An expository discourse requires a communication situation in which one or more individuals, who are authorities about a given subject, or at least know more than other individuals, generate from the abstract of their discourse its full-bodied structure with all its necessary detail and background.

When the speaker in a non-literate, or semi-literate society wants to develop his thoughts into a discourse he apparently starts out (as anyone must) with a backbone which he must expand into a skeleton without the benefit of notes, and then put flesh and skin on it so that it will result in an expository discourse which explains a subject concerning which the speaker presumably has superior knowledge, or at least knows enough to be able to talk intelligently. In order to influence people this speaker should have a reputation for skillfulness in producing discourses that are acceptable to his audience.

In the appended discourse, Karba, the speaker of the text, recounts to the author the circumstances of the first contact with outsiders from a technological world. This discourse is not a story because it lacks, with the exception of some embedded text in the first paragraph, the specific narrative discourse features of chronological linkage etc., and shows the above mentioned expository discourse features of logical linkage and thematic orientation. In place of agent orientation the focus in this discourse is on the theme of the discourse i.e., the arrival of the helicopter and the consequent repercussions in Una society. The overall semantic structure analysis of this discourse shows a 'grounds - CONCLUSION' semantic structure (which is a specific feature of the expository discourse genre). This reinforces the conclusion arrived at from the previously described evidence which showed that this text is an expository discourse with

embedded narrative discourse. The Una people made the assumption that these strange beings, which dropped out of the sky in the belly of a noisy 'dragonfly' (helicopter), must be spirits (Louwerse 1981b, 1982e, 1985f, 1986c) speaking a strange nonhuman language (grounds - CONCLUSION). However, further investigation showed them that one of these 'spirits' spoke a somewhat familiar language and his explanations convinced them that these beings must be human, notwithstanding the strange circumstances of their arrival and their weird appearance, and therefore should be welcomed as guests of the Una society (grounds - CONCLUSION). As in all expository discourse, whatever actions are referred to in this discourse the agents are nonspecific and nonfocal. As an insider of Una culture and thought patterns the speaker is an authority who is able to explain the repercussions of the first contact with the outside world.

While this expository discourse is instructional, it is different from the step-by-step nature and the chronological linkage which characterizes procedural discourse. Another feature which distinguishes this expository discourse from procedural discourse is that the latter is characterized by reference to second person, i.e., the audience which is being addressed by the speaker. This is not the case in this text. The third person dominates by far. In this respect expository discourse is more similar to narrative than the procedural/instructional discourse.

8.3 Hierarchy within the discourse

8.3.1 Overall discourse structure

Una expository discourses characteristically have three major surface structure constituents:

1. The OPENING which states the topic of the exposition,
2. the BODY which contains the exposition of the topic, and
3. the CLOSURE which includes the wrap-up of the exposition.

8.3.1.1 Opening

The opening consists of one or more sentences that state directly or indirectly the topic of the story. This opening, or part of the opening, is usually formulaic, and therefore may be termed APERTURE. Due to the formulaic nature of the aperture, the discourse itself usually gets going in the next section of the opening which can be termed INTRODUCTION (cf. sentences 2-3). In the aperture, i.e. sentence 1, the narrator states in a formulaic style his intention, namely, to talk about the story of the helicopter: *eyliykobter deyok ebkwan* (helicopter-story-I-will-tell) 'I will tell the story of the helicopter'. Usually, the opening indicates more than the discourse topic (cf. 8.1).

Other examples of formulaic opening or aperture are: *Ura, kiting deyok ebkwan* (well, sun story I-will-tell) 'Well, I will tell the story of the sun'; *Dabura deyok ebkwanim* (lowlands story we-two-will-tell) 'Both of us will tell the story of the lowlands';

Nun eykiryi kuboka deyok yanmow uram ebkun (we up-there being story he-came-long-time-ago story I-will-tell-right-now) 'I will tell you, right now, the story of him who came while we were up there'.

8.3.1.2 Body

The body of expository discourses is made up of multiple paragraphs. In the appended text the body extends from sentence 4 to sentence 180. In the body of this expository discourse we find SUBTOPICS as slots, which elaborate on the exposition of the topic.

8.3.1.3 Closure

The closure of expository discourses consists of a wrap-up of the exposition of the topic. Two types of closure can be distinguished: a non-specific stylized CONCLUSION, or a highly stylized formula, i.e. FINIS, or a combination of both. In the sample text the highly stylized FINIS of sentences 181-183, which states that the narrator is finished with talking: *A deyok ara, siyja ebman* (that story finish I-telling) 'I have finished telling that story', is followed by the expanded RHETORICAL UNDERLINING: *Ururu, eyliykobter deyok akunum ebman* (airplane, helicopter story complete I-telling) 'I have completed telling the story of the airplane and helicopter', and *siyja* 'That's it.' Other examples of finis without preceding conclusion are: *Ura, mita deyok akunum ebmanim* (Well, rainbow story complete we-two-telling) 'Well, we two have completed telling the story of the rainbow', and: *Ura, marikna niynyi utotowa yaramwa deyok akunum ebmasin* (Well, shelf human skulls all-kinds-of-items cutting story complete I-tell-to you) 'Well I have completed telling you the story of cutting (rattan strings) of the shelves with human skulls'.

The following is an example of closure consisting of conclusion and finis:

Conclusion: *Ura nikwit, nun bisam ur buramowbwa asiy, kanci Berengna Uram boyasumuca, nun bisam yinunum* (well my-friend we pigs alone we-left coordinating conjunction you-ERG light story you-brought-to-us, we pigs we-eat-continually).

Finis: *A bisam deyok siyja* (That pig's story end).

'Well, my friend, we used to leave the pigs alone, but since you brought us the light-giving story we eat pork. That's the end of the story of the pig'.

When we continue the analysis of the hierarchical structure of expository discourse we have to do the job of the narrator in reverse. We have to look through the flesh and the skin to the skeletal structure beneath, and to perceive the fundamental structure of the whole.

Cutting across the hierarchical structure of the discourse as expressed in opening, body and closure, we see that paragraphs are made up of subtopic sections, which show the notional features of condition, result and/or reason (cf. Figure 44) in which the theme of

the exposition is further developed. At an even lower level we see that Una expository discourses are made up of a sequence of primary and secondary predications.

PRIMARY predications are the ones the narrator, often more or less subconsciously, decides are prominent. The primary predications can be connected in a main-line (i.e. a succession of primary predications) which propels the discourse forward. SECONDARY predications are made supplementary to them for the purpose of adding detail and colour.

8.3.1.4 Primary predications

A primary predication is mainly indicated by an independent or sentence final verb with full verbal inflection (cf. Figure 6). The sentence final verbs (cf. 2.15) can contain tense, aspect, mode, voice, subject person and number indicator, and object indicator. For example, sentences 1-18 contain final verbs. The final verb of sentence 5 is *dobmarey* (build-incomplete aspect (cf. 2.7.3) - remote- past- tense- second- person- dual (cf. 2.10.1.2)) 'they two build'. The final verb of sentence 6 is *bukeybmow* (sit- transitive voice (cf. 2.6.2.2)- incomplete aspect (cf. 2.7.3)- remote- past- tense- third- person- singular (cf. 2.10.1.2)), 'it placed/put down'.

Sentence medial verbs can contain the same indicators as the independent or sentence final verbs, but they must be followed by the free-form coordinate conjunction *ani* or *ba*. These sentence medial verbs followed by *ani* or *ba* indicate primary predications and carry together with the final verbs the main-line.

For example, the main-line propels forward in sentence 10 by sentence medial verbs followed by *ani*: *a mabmarey ani* (there they-two-slept after) 'they two having slept there'; and in sentence 11: *a yibanmarey ani* (there they two passed by after) 'they two having passed by there'. See also sentences 15, 22, 24, etc. Sentence initial independent verbs followed by *ani* never carry the main-line; rather they repeat the exact final verb of the previous sentence as in sentences 5, 23, 27 etc. An example of *ba* following a primary predication is found in sentence 66: *diynmay ba* (looked-they-when) 'when they looked'.

8.3.1.5 Secondary predications

A SECONDARY predication is also expressed by a medial verb, but is identified by the suffix *-oka* 'same actor indicator', marking a non-finite verb. For example, the first clause of sentence 15 has only one primary predication, viz., *binmarey* 'they two went', indicated by the verbal tense- aspect- subject- person and number indicators, followed by the free form *ani* 'after'. Preceding this primary predication are two secondary predications *kuboka* 'being' and *anaboka* 'appearing', which are subordinate to the primary predication.

The primary predication in the sequence *kuboka anaboka binmarey ani*, (being appearing they-two-went after) 'after they two had been (inside) they appeared (outside)

and went away' is: 'they two went away'. The narrator has chosen the "had been inside and appeared outside" as supplementary in order to set the stage for the "went away".

Dependent verbs also indicate secondary predications. They have a lower hierarchical function than the independent verbs. The dependent verbs indicate switch-reference of participants and temporal, or pseudo-temporal reference between the events. This can be accomplished by means of the simultaneous aspect suffix {-*iyjok*} (cf. 2.11.1); e.g. sentence 53: *diybde bukmaryok* (they- waited- while- same agent) 'while they waited (they shouted)', or by means of the simultfactive aspect suffix {-*bok*} (cf. 2.11.2); e.g. sentence 73: *ebmaybok* (they- said- while- different agent) 'while they said he (lyna said)', and sentence 58: *bukmaybok* (they-sat-while-different agent) 'while they sat, (they said)'. Furthermore, the dependent verbs can signal that a certain event occurred at an earlier time by means of the dependent preview aspect suffix {-*ura*, {-*uca* or {-*obora*} (cf. 2.11.4). E.g. in sentence 41: *yanmayobora* (came- they- plural- after) 'after they came'; or in sentence 98: *asiybmayuca* (asked- they- plural- after) 'after they asked'. The successive aspect suffix {-*iyji*} (cf. 2.11.5); indicates that an event follows immediately after another event. Two future consecutive actions which will occur are indicated by means of the dependent anticipatory aspect suffix {-*nyura*} (cf. 2.11.3), and the causal mode suffix {-*nyi*} (cf. 2.12.4) which indicates an action which expresses the cause of/grounds for an action by a different actor described in the following clause.

In summary, switch-reference in Una proceeds by means of the medial verbs, or the medial verb phrase, which indicate whether or not the subject of the second of two successive clauses will be the same as the subject of the first. The verb suffix {-*bok*} predicts a change of subject. The verb suffixes {-*ura* {-*iyjok*}, {-*iyji*} and {-*nyura*} may indicate a change of subject, but this does not necessarily have to be so. The verb suffixes {-*bok*} and {-*ura*} do not predict the person and number of the new subject. The verb suffixes {-*bok*} and {-*iyjok*} also predict that the events are/will be simultaneous. This is in contrast to the verb suffixes {-*ura*, {-*iyji*} and {-*nyura*} which predict that the events happened/will happen in succession.

The coordinate conjunctions *asiy* and *ate* occur in free variation and are used following independent sentence medial verbs indicating secondary predications; e.g., sentence 41 and 43 (which have identical medial verbs): *yokwetebmasir asiy/ate* (he-dropped- just- a while- ago- for- us, so ...) 'he dropped (it) for us, so ...' (*Asiy* and *ate* differ from the coordinate conjunctions *ani* and *ba* because the latter, in contrast to the former, exclusively follow primary predications.)

8.4 The Notional relationship

The semantic, or notional, structure of this Una expository discourse interrelates, and gives cohesion to, three types of subtopics indicating a CONDITION, REASON or RESULT as a subtopic in the development of the topic of the discourse. The exposition of the topic, which is stated in the opening (cf. 8.3.1.1), can be quite general, or very detailed. The number of subtopics depends on the amount of detail of the exposition: the more detailed the exposition is, the more subtopics will be introduced. These subtopics are all

within the context of the topic of the exposition and related to each other by some sort of chronological or thematic-logical linkage.

As stated above, these subtopics are developed by resort to a threefold notional relationship: condition, result and reason. Usually, but not always, they occur in that order. (For a description of exceptions to this order, cf. 8.5.5.1.2.)

The condition usually is a certain event or state of affairs which leads to another event or state, which is the logical result of an event following the initial condition. This result might be something which automatically follows a given condition, or some volitional response to the condition. However, sometimes the condition-result sequence is not strictly of the 'if-then' sort; it might be a problem (needing solution), or a puzzling/inciting incident (cf. sentence 50-53, 56-57, 132 etc.). The result, or response, is always significant because it leads to a new paragraph which is a part of the development of the topic/theme of the discourse.

The reason is also an important part in the development of a paragraph, due to the fact that it provides the explanation for the outcome or response. (For a description of the different subtopics within a paragraph cf. 8.5.5.1.2.) The Una people apparently have the normal amount of curiosity found universally among *homo sapiens* in that they want to find out the reason why things are the way they are (Louwerse 1986f, 1987c, 1988b). But more than that, they show a strong tendency to interpret events and conditions as being the result of previous events and conditions, due to the fact that in a non-technologically advanced/animistic environment there needs to be a reason/explanatory cause for everything, either naturally or super-naturally. This is very apparent from their culture which extensively resorts to mythological explanation (cf. Louwerse, 1981a, b).

8.5 The surface realization of the notional structure

The following Spectrum indicates the surface structure realization of the deep level semantic or notional structure.

8.5.1 The story of the helicopter: An introduction

In the appended text under investigation, Karba, a member of the Una tribe, recounts to the present author the first encounters with outsiders.

The main part of the body of this discourse describes the actual events which happened on the 22 June 1973. At that time the present author with his wife and a group of Indonesian Christian co-workers arrived by helicopter in Una territory. In the stage-setting for this 'milestone' event in Una history the helicopter is introduced as a vehicle for a geological party which searched for minerals near the streams in Una territory (cf. Maps 1 and 3 in the Introduction) just previous to the above date (Louwerse 1983c, 1984c).

In the second paragraph a survey flight is described. The Missionary Aviation Fellowship airplane flew over an airstrip site near the village of Langda at low altitude to determine the length of this site and to drop a bundle of steel axe heads as a gift for the

local population. This led to the speculation that the *tuan* 'expatriate missionary' from Okbab (an area on the north side of the high mountain ranges, where relatives of the Una people live who were previously contacted by a mission) would arrive in the near future (Louwerse 1985g, h).

The next description is about the arrival of two helicopters which shuttled passengers and supplies, and the repercussions this had as the onset of the acculturation processes which introduced this stone-age society to a 20th century technological world (Louwerse 1987b).

Immediately after the arrival of the helicopters, Iyna, one of the leading men of the village of Langda, proposes to claim and to take along all the supplies, but others are afraid of Yanke the guard who watches the supplies. Endok, who like Yanke spoke only Yali, tries to explain without result that their place of origin was the Pass Valley in the Yali regions (central Indonesian New Guinea) and that they came from there by aircraft (*urrrrrru* 'onomatopoeia for engine sound').

Next a detailed description of the deliberations about the identity of the expatriate (white) missionary and his wife shows that they were thought to be spirits of ancestors which had returned from the spirit world.

After an explanation by Yibin, who spoke the related language of Koruppun, the people of Langda and surrounding villages came to the conclusion that the new arrivals were human and came with friendly intentions and therefore ought to be welcomed with food and tobacco.

8.5.2 Surface structure encoding of information

From the following display (cf. Figure 43) different kinds of information about the story of the helicopters are readily displayed. The form of this display is according to Thurman-Grimes (1975), and the full display can be found in Appendix A.

The vertical columns correspond to the various kinds of information distinguished in the text: The events which happened are indicated by predication (including quotations in the case of speech events, and the verbs of motion are in italics), identification (I.D.), setting (S.), background (B.), collateral (C.), and performative (P.). To prevent crowding of the chart the convention is used that information of a particular kind begins under the corresponding heading, but may be carried as far to the right as needed.

The parallel vertical lines are for the participants; one line per participant. For each real-world event a line is drawn from the predication that represents the event to the vertical lines that represent the participants in the event. Where identifications are given for the participants, lines are drawn from the right hand side to show which identification belongs to which participant. A reference to one of the participants noted above the vertical lines at the beginning of the chart is signalled by an asterisk*.

The Una text with a literal interlinear translation is placed to the left of the display in numerical order.

The first distinction made in the analysis of this discourse is between EVENTS and non-events. Primary predications (cf. 8.3.1.4) are underlined. Long stretches of speech are sometimes devoted to nothing but event information (especially by means of quotations as in sentences 73-80, etc.). The rules of the reference system, by means of verb inflection and optional pronouns, are such in Una that the hearer always knows by deduction who is doing what (to whom). Two events, regardless of their relation to time (Circumstantial, Biological, Conventional, Natural Phenomenal, Cultural or Contextual; cf. 3.5) are reported as Event A and Event B. Backflash is considered to be part of the main-line of events told out of order. They are distinct from narrative subsequences that are told in an explanatory fashion without being in the main-line of events.

The information that identifies the PARTICIPANTS in an event not only links participants to events, but also links consecutive references to the same participant.

IDENTIFICATION has to do with the linguistic means the speaker uses to communicate to the hearer/audience who or what is involved. Quite often double identification; e.g. 'they ... all people', or 'all of us ... we' is shown in the surface structure by means of a pronoun and verb inflection. Obligatory subject identification in Una verbs (and optional pronouns or proper nouns) makes it easy and clear for the hearer to determine who or what is being talked about without becoming confused.

SETTING is that part of the text which provides information about where, when, and under what circumstances actions take place. Setting can be in space and in time.

BACKGROUND, or secondary, information is not a part of the actual development of the topic of the discourse itself, but stands outside and clarifies it. Events, participants and setting can be considered to be primary components of a discourse, while explanations and comments have a secondary role which in Una is often reflected in the distinctive secondary predication morpheme *-oka* 'same actor suffix'; (e.g. sentence 7: *boboka* 'carrying', and sentence 12: *sakweteboka* 'jumping'; cf. 8.3.1.5).

COLLATERAL text in a discourse informs the hearer/audience about what did not happen, instead of telling what did happen; (e.g. sentence 3: "In the Langda language we didn't call it a helicopter"). In this example the non-event is a rhetorical underlining of the previous event described in sentence 2.

PERFORMATIVE information shows the influence of the speaker-hearer-situation. In this discourse the speaker-hearer interaction can be noticed, for example, in the opening of the discourse in sentence 1: "I will tell (to you) the Story of the Helicopter", in the closure of sentences 181-3, but also in the body of the discourse, for example, in sentence 120: "Their father, that's you!"

		Event/Motion	Narrator	Langda people	Helicopter	Pilot & Passenger	Bowski V. people	White people	Iymerbun V. people	Kerabuk people	Airplane	Girls	I.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.
01	\s	<i>Eylykobter deyok ebkwan.</i> Helicopter story I-will-tell															I will tell the Story of the Helicopter
02	\s	<i>Eylykobter asiy, nunci ersiy ara: "Kobor Ner" eramowbwa.</i> Helicopter NOM we-ERC her-DAT Kobor Wife we-called	*										we		called the helicopter the wife of Kobor		
03	\s	<i>Langda uram: "Eylykobter" kum eramowbwa.</i> Langda language Helicopter not we-called		*									we			didn't call it in the Langda language a helicopter	
04	\s	<i>Ton me duman akwa binmow.</i> One valleys only it-went/flew	<u>went/flew</u>		*								one		only in the valleys		
05	\s	<i>Binmow ani, Bowski dala ey bindoka ay dobmarey.</i> It-went after B.valley up there going hut they-two-built	after... <u>went</u> ... <u>went</u> and <u>built</u> a hut		*	*							it they 2		up there		
06	\s	<i>Bowski dala ay dobmareyura, niynyi bitinyi bukeybmow.</i> B.valley hut they-2-built-after, people two it-put-down	...having built a hut... <u>putdown</u> two persons		*	*							they 2 it		in the Bowski valley		
07	\s	<i>Bukeybmowura, towa yala toto boboka eylykobter um dongobmarey.</i> After it put down, vegetables carrying helicopter inside they-2-put	...having put down... <u>put</u> ...		*	*							it they2		carried <i>towa</i> and all kinds of vegetables and ... them inside the helicopter		

I.D. = Identification
S. = Setting
B. = Background
C. = Collateral
P. = Performative

		Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	L.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.
08	\s	<i>Dobmareyura, Bowsi duman nang aji: "Sun nuner dobkwaming ate, lynkiyriymang" ebmay.</i> After-they-2-built B. valley people ERG "They our-wifes they-will-marry, they-search" they-said				*		*									they 2 the people of the Bowsi valley
09	/s	<i>"lynkiyriymang" ebmayura, niyni niyja bay bukoka binsekmay.</i> "They-search" after-they-said people all bush staying they-fled						*									they ... all people to the bush ... there
10	\s	<i>Binsekmayura, a mabmarey ani, berekwura, yanmarey.</i> After-they-fled, there they-2-slept after, after-it-dawned they-2-came						*									they 2 there they 2 at dawn
11	\s	<i>A yibanmarey ani, Langda nang mutuk Biltelen dala yanykmow.</i> There they-2-passed after L. people area B. valley it-landed						*									they 2 there it in a valley of the Langda people called Biltelen
12	\s	<i>Yanykmowobora, sal bitinyi sakweteboka keyl ya dobmarey.</i> After-it-landed men two jumping out rock volcanic they-2-took				*		*									it they 2 jumped out and ...
13	\s	<i>Dobmareyobora, sun otam Iymerbun tam kunmay niyni asiy: "Sun yandarut" ebmarey.</i> After-they-2-took they overthere I.place they-be people Nom You come they-2-called						*									they 2 over there in Iymerbun
14	\s	<i>Nun ilil: "Obsiringnyay" eboka sun iyniybmay.</i> We fear They-will-kill-us saying they they-hid						*									they ... were afraid

Figure 43. Thurman-Grimes chart

8.5.3 Basic paragraph notional structure chart information

Figure 44 is another chart of the text of the Story of the Helicopter. The purpose of this further display is to present information about the major discourse constituent boundaries (===) marking the opening, body and closure of the discourse (cf. 8.3.1), paragraph boundaries (**), subtopic boundaries (---), the kinds of cohesives between the subtopics (time margins, topic fronting and conjunctions) and the type of paragraph structures (cf. 8.5.5.1.2).

The paragraph numbers (P#) are listed along with the subtopic numbers (ST#), notional features and summarized surface realizations of the subtopics. Furthermore, the corresponding sentence numbers (S#) and the cohesion markers, which mark the subtopic boundaries, have been displayed.

P#	ST#	S#	NOTIONAL FEATURE	COHESIVE	SUBTOPIC

=====					
1	1	1-3	Discourse Topic	<i>eyliykobter</i> helicopter	Stage setting, focusing on helicopter

=====					
2	2	4-25	Condition	<i>ton one</i> ²⁹	Geological survey aroused expectations of return

	3	26-38	Result	<i>talak</i> during that time	Return of aircraft Gift drop

	4	39-49	Reason	<i>Okbab tubang</i> the <i>tuan</i> from <i>Okbab</i>	Assumption that the gift drop must be from the <i>tuan</i> ³⁰ they knew

3	5a	50-53	Condition	<i>uram</i> noise/message	Waiting and wondering what he would say

	5b	54	Result	<i>ton yasun</i> and nettle leaves	'He will say: Let's get nettle leaves'

	5c	55	Reason	<i>u</i> sickness	'Because all our people are sick'

4	5d	56-57	Condition	<i>ebmayura</i> having said	Waiting and wondering and caught a buzzard
<hr/>					
	6	58-59	Result	<i>diybde bukmaybok</i> while they sat waiting	They said: "Let's offer tobacco"
<hr/>					
	7	60	Reason	<i>ton</i> and so	They were happy

5	8	61-69	Condition	<i>yanganmar</i> he is coming	Helicopters arrived and landed
<hr/>					
	9	70a	Result	<i>yaringobora</i> came running	People were scared
<hr/>					
	10	70b-72	Reason	<i>yandarut</i> come here!	They heard a voice calling them

6	11	73-80	Condition	<i>ebmaybok</i> while they said	They came and were encouraged to steal the items
<hr/>					
	12	81-83	Result	<i>ton</i> and	Others resisted
<hr/>					
	13	84-85	Reason	<i>ebmayura</i> having said so	Because Yanke watched and told them not to steal

7	14	86	Condition	<i>obseyca</i> he will kill us!	They had a discussion
<hr/>					
	15	87-88	Result	<i>kum weycabwa</i> not so my friends	which resulted in a statement by lyna to steal
<hr/>					
	16	89-90	Reason	<i>erkaynya bitinyi</i> his hearts two	Because he had two hearts (dishonest)

8	17	91	Result	<i>nun ilil</i> we are afraid	Langda people were afraid (to take the items along)
<hr/>					
	18	92-93	Reason	<i>mem</i> forbidden	That was forbidden

9	19	94-97	Condition	<i>tenebmaybok</i> while thinking	Arrival of Kerabuk people. Interview
	20	98-100	Result	<i>asiybmayuca</i> having asked	Answer of Endok

10	21	101-106	Condition	<i>dan tam</i> where	Interview (Cont.)
	22	107-108	Result	<i>ni ururu</i> I plane	Answer of Endok
	23	109-124	Reason	<i>Basekaliy nun</i> <i>kum bingnun</i> <i>mutuk</i> P.V. is not known to us	Reasoning followed by statement that these persons were ghosts and their leader a witch doctor

11	24	125	Condition	<i>"tubang a yanmar"</i> the <i>tuan</i> is coming	they saw the <i>tuan</i> coming
	25	126	Result	<i>uram kum</i> did not say anything	The narrator did not say a word
	26	127-131	Reason	<i>ni diyb kum</i> <i>tenebmase</i> I was confused	Because he was small, afraid and sick

12	27	132	Condition	<i>a diybdo tenebmase</i> I thought: Is that true?	The narrator wondered about the truth of the rumours
	28	133	Result	<i>yandoka bukmase</i> I came sat down	Therefore he went to Yanke for an explanation

13	29	134-136a	Condition	<i>asiy, erci</i> so he said	He told him that it was forbidden to steal
	30	136b-139	Result	<i>ni ilil</i> I was afraid	Being afraid and thinking to have encountered ghosts

14	31	140-143	Condition	<i>ato tenebmasura</i> having thought so	Yibin spoke to them in a related language
	32	144-147	Result	<i>ebmowura</i> having said so	which resulted in response and recognition
	33	148-150	Reason	<i>bowka ... yanman</i> love ... I came	Explanation that love was reason of coming

15	34	151a	Condition	<i>uram ebwiyllybrum</i> you interpret!	Request to interpret
	35	151b	Reason	Recapitulation of 148-150	Rhetorical underlining of coming
	36	152-154	Result	<i>asiy so</i>	Yibin accepted by Langda people

16	37	155-158	Condition	<i>ebmayobora</i> having said so	Memer told a vision of a shaman
	38	159-161	Reason	<i>a deyok aji</i> for that reason	Vision was reason they wondered about identity of new arrivals

17	39	162-164a	Condition	Continuation of Subtopic 19	Kerabuk people inquired for the origin of the <i>tuan</i>
	40	164b-168	Result	<i>nun Okbab kum</i> we are not from Okbab	Response: we came by plane from Pass Valley

18	41	169-170	Condition	<i>ebmayura</i> having said so	Continuation of investigation of Subtopic 29
	42	171-173	Result	Repetition of Subtopic 40	Response

43	174-177a	Reason	<i>minob iysa</i> <i>tenebmab asiy</i> <i>niyny kibre</i> we thought they were ghost, but they are human	Reasoning results in change of attitude caused by understanding that these people were human

19	44	177b-179	Condition	<i>ate so</i> Encouragement to receive them as friends with gifts

45	180	Result	<i>ato ebmayura</i> having said so	As a result of this they came with loads of presents

=====				
20	46	181-183	Closure	<i>a deyok ara</i> that story This is the end of the Story of the Airplane and Helicopter

=====				

Figure 44. Basic paragraph notional structure chart

8.5.4 Sentence notional structure chart information

Figure 45 displays the notional structures at sentence level. By means of this display insight is provided in greater detail about the development/exposition of the topic of the discourse at a lower level than presented in Figure 44. In Figure 44 the rate of new information input was restricted to the information which was relevant to the subtopic and higher levels only in order to avoid overcrowding of information in one display. The purpose of this further display is to achieve a higher degree of readability.

For a description of the abbreviated terms T.S. (thematic sequence) and C.S. (chronological sequence) cf. Figure 46. Lines with an asterisk (----*) indicate thematic sequence, chronological sequence, or the notional structure of a certain major discourse constituent or subtopic. Other terminology used outside the discourse frame is described under 8.5.3 and in Figure 44. Terminology used within the discourse frame is self-explanatory and shows the natural development of a topic in actual use of language in communicating in Una society. The study of the notional structures of a discourse down to this level is not only profitable, but necessary in order to write a grammar and to generate acceptable, i.e., natural, utterances in Una.

ST#1
STAGE ---
SETTING

ST#2
CONDITION

-	-	*****	1 Aperture	*	-	P#1
		.....	2 Statement			- TOPIC
		.....*	3 Commentary on 2			
-	-	*****	4 Beginning of events	*	-	T.S.
		.....*	5 Expansion of 4			P#2
		.....	6 Expansion of 5			
		.....	7 Expansion of 6			
		.....	8 Expansion of 7/Assertion			
		.....	9 Response to 8			
		.....	10 Expansion of 9			
		.....	11 Expansion of 10			
		.....	12 Expansion of 11			
		.....	13 Expansion of 12			
		.....	14 Response to 13/Assertion			
		.....	15 Expansion of 14			
		.....	16 Expansion of 15			
		.....	17 Expansion of 16			
		.....	18 Expansion of 17			
		.....	19 Commentary on 17			
		.....	20 Assumption/Response to 19			
					
					
					
					

ST#3 RESULT----	-	-	21 Rhet.Und./Response to 20	-	-	-	C.S.
						
			22 Expansion of 19				
						
			23 Expansion of 22				
						
			24 Expansion of 23				
						
			25 Question/Response to 4-24				
			-----*				
			*26 Expansion of 25				
						
			27 Expansion of 26				
						
			28 Commentary on 27				
						
			29 Expansion of 28				
						
			30 Expansion of 29				
						
			31 Expansion of 30				
						
ST#4 REASON ----	-	-	32 Response to 26-31	-	-	-	T.S.
						
			33 Commentary on 32				
						
			34 Expansion of 33				
						
			35 Expansion of 34				
						
			36 Question as Response to 35				
						
			37 Response to 34-37				
						
			38 Expansion of 37				
			-----*				
			39 Assertion/Response to 38				
						
			*40 Rhet. Und. of 39				
						
			41 Assertion/Response to 38				
						
			42 Reassertion/Response to 38				
						

		43 Rhet. Und./Response to 39		
		44 Assumption/Response to 39-43		
		45 Question as Response to 44		
		46 Expansion of 34		
		47 Assertion/Response to 46		
		48 Expansion of 46		
		49 Expansion of 46		

ST#5 ----	- -	*50 Expansion of 49/Question	- -	- T.S. P#3
CONDITION		51 Assumption/Response to 49		
		52 Response to 51		
		53 Reassertion of 47		
		-----*		
ST#5b ----	- -	*54 Response to 53	- -	- C.S.
RESULT		-----*		
ST#5c ----	- -	*55 Assumption/Response to 54	- -	- T.S.
REASON		*****		
ST#5d ----	- -	*56 Expansion of 55	- -	- T.S. P#4
CONDITION		57 Question as Response to 44		
		-----*		
ST#6 ----	- -	*58 Expansion of 57	- -	- C.S.
RESULT		59 Response to 58		
		-----*		
ST#7 ----	- -	*60 Response to 58	- -	- T.S.
REASON		*****		
ST#8 ----	- -	*61 Rhet. Und. of 58	- -	- T.S. P#5
CONDITION		62 Assertion		
		63 Reassertion of 62		
		64 Expansion of 58/Assertion		

		65 Rhet. Und. of 64			
		66 Expansion of 64			
		67 Rhet. Und. of 66			
		68 Expansion of 66			
		69 Rhet. Und. of 68			
		-----*	-	-	-T.S.
ST#9 ----	-	*70a Response to 61-69			
RESULT	-	-----*	-	-	-T.S.
		70b Expansion of 70			

ST#10 ----	-	*71 Response to 70b			
REASON	-	-----			
		72 Question/Response to 70b			
		*****	-	-	-T.S.
ST#11 ----	-	*73 Expansion of 72			P#6
CONDITION	-	-----			
		74 Expansion of 73/Assumption			
		75 Expansion of 74/Assertion			
		76 Expansion of 75			
		77 Expansion of 76/Assertion			
		78 Rhet. Und. of 77			
		79 Rhet. Und. of 73			
		80 Rhet. Und. of 79			
		-----*	-	-	-T.S.
ST#12 ----	-	*81 Commentary/Contrast to 74			
RESULT	-	-----			
		82 Expansion of 81/Assumption			
		83 Contrast to 76			
		-----*	-	-	-T.S.
ST#13 ----	-	*84 Expansion of 83			
REASON	-	-----			
		85 Expansion of 84			
		*****	-	-	-T.S.

ST#14 ---- CONDITION	-	-	*86 Response to 85 -----*	-	-	P#7 T.S.
ST#15 ---- RESULT	-	-	*87 Contrast to 86 88 Expansion of 87 -----*	-	-	T.S.
ST#16 ---- REASON	-	-	*89 Expansion of 88 90 Commentary on 87-89 *****	-	-	T.S.
ST#17 ---- CONDITION	-	-	*91 Contrast to 87-90 -----*	-	-	P#8 T.S.
ST#18 ---- REASON	-	-	*92 Commentary/Contrast to 87 93 Conclusion *****	-	-	T.S.
ST#19 ---- RESULT	-	-	*94 Expansion of 93 95 Expansion of 94/Question 96 Expansion of 95/Question 97 Expansion of 96/Question -----*	-	-	P#9 T.S.
ST#20 ---- RESULT	-	-	*98 Response to 95-97 99 Expansion of 98 100 Rhet. Und. of 99 *****	-	-	T.S.
ST#21 ---- CONDITION	-	-	*101 Response to 98 102 Expansion of 101 103 Expansion of 102 104 Expansion of 103 105 Expansion of 104/Question 106 Rhet. Und. of 105 -----*	-	-	P#10 T.S.
ST#22 ---- RESULT	-	-	*107 Response to 101-106	-	-	T.S.

ST#23 ---- REASON	-	-	108 Expansion of 107	-	-	-
	-	-	-----*	-	-	- T.S.
	-	-	*109 Response to 107-108	-	-	
	-	-	-----	-	-	
	-	-	110 Conclusion	-	-	
	-	-	-----	-	-	
	-	-	111 Assertion	-	-	
	-	-	-----	-	-	
	-	-	112 Expansion of 111	-	-	
	-	-	-----	-	-	
	-	-	113 Rhet. Und. of 112	-	-	
	-	-	-----	-	-	
	-	-	114 Expansion of 113	-	-	
	-	-	-----	-	-	
	-	-	115 Conclusion	-	-	
	-	-	-----	-	-	
	-	-	116 Expansion of 115	-	-	
	-	-	-----	-	-	
	-	-	117 Rhet. Und. of 116	-	-	
	-	-	-----	-	-	
	-	-	118 Expansion of 117	-	-	
ST#24 ---- CONDITION	-	-	-----	-	-	
	-	-	119 Expansion of 118	-	-	
	-	-	-----	-	-	
	-	-	120 Expansion of 119	-	-	
	-	-	-----	-	-	
	-	-	121 Rhet. Und. of 116	-	-	
	-	-	-----	-	-	
	-	-	122 Expansion of 120	-	-	
	-	-	-----	-	-	
	-	-	123 Expansion of 122	-	-	
ST#25 ---- RESULT	-	-	-----	-	-	
	-	-	124 Conclusion	-	-	
	-	-	*****	-	-	- T.S.
	-	-	*125 Recapitulation of 121-124	-	-	P#11
	-	-	-----	-	-	
ST#26 ---- REASON	-	-	*126 Contrast to 109-125	-	-	
	-	-	-----*	-	-	- T.S.
	-	-	*127 Commentary	-	-	
	-	-	-----	-	-	
	-	-	128 Expansion of 127	-	-	
	-	-	-----	-	-	
	-	-	129 Commentary	-	-	
	-	-	-----	-	-	

		130 Expansion of 129			
		131 Conclusion			
ST#27 ----	-	*****	-	-	- T.S.
CONDITION	-	*132 Question	-	-	P#12
ST#28 ----	-	-----*	-	-	- T.S.
RESULT	-	*133 Expansion of 132	-	-	- T.S.
ST#29 ----	-	*****	-	-	P#13
CONDITION	-	*134 Contrast to 74	-	-	
		135 Expansion of 134			
		136 Conclusion			
ST#30 ----	-	-----*	-	-	- T.S.
RESULT	-	*137 Response to 136	-	-	
		138 Conclusion from 136			
		139 Expansion of 132/Question			
ST#31 ----	-	*****	-	-	- T.S.
CONDITION	-	*140 Expansion of 139	-	-	P#14
		141 Expansion of 140			
		142 Commentary			
		143 Contrast to 139			
ST#32 ----	-	-----*	-	-	- T.S.
RESULT	-	*144 Response to 141-143	-	-	
		145 Expansion of 144			
		146 Question			
		147 Rhet. Und. of 146			
ST#33 ----	-	-----*	-	-	- T.S.
REASON	-	*148 Response to 146	-	-	
		149 Contrast to 119			
		150 Conclusion			
ST#34 ----	-	*****	-	-	- T.S.
CONDITION	-	*151a Response to 148-150	-	-	P#15
		-----*	-	-	- T.S.

ST#35 ---- REASON	-	-	*151b Recapitulation of 148-150	-	-	-	T.S.
ST#36 ---- RESULT	-	-	*152 Conclusion	-	-	-	
			153 Expansion of 152				
			154 Expansion of 153				
			*****	-	-	-	T.S.
ST#37 ---- CONDITION	-	-	*155 Expansion of 154	-	-	-	P#16
			156 Expansion of 155				
			157 Expansion of 156				
			158 Expansion of 157				
			*****	-	-	-	T.S.
ST#38 ---- REASON	-	-	*159 Comment	-	-	-	
			160 Expansion of 159				
			161 Conclusion				
			*****	-	-	-	T.S.
ST#39 ---- CONDITION	-	-	*162 Expansion of 44	-	-	-	P#17
			163 Expansion of 162				
			164 Expansion of 163				
			*****	-	-	-	T.S.
ST#40 ---- RESULT	-	-	*165 Response to 164	-	-	-	
			166 Expansion of 165				
			167 Expansion of 166				
			168 Rhet. Und. of 167				
			*****	-	-	-	T.S.
ST#41 ---- CONDITION	-	-	*169 Response to 165-168	-	-	-	P#18
			170 Question				
			*****	-	-	-	T.S.
ST#42 ---- RESULT	-	-	*171 Response to 170	-	-	-	
			172 Expansion of 171				

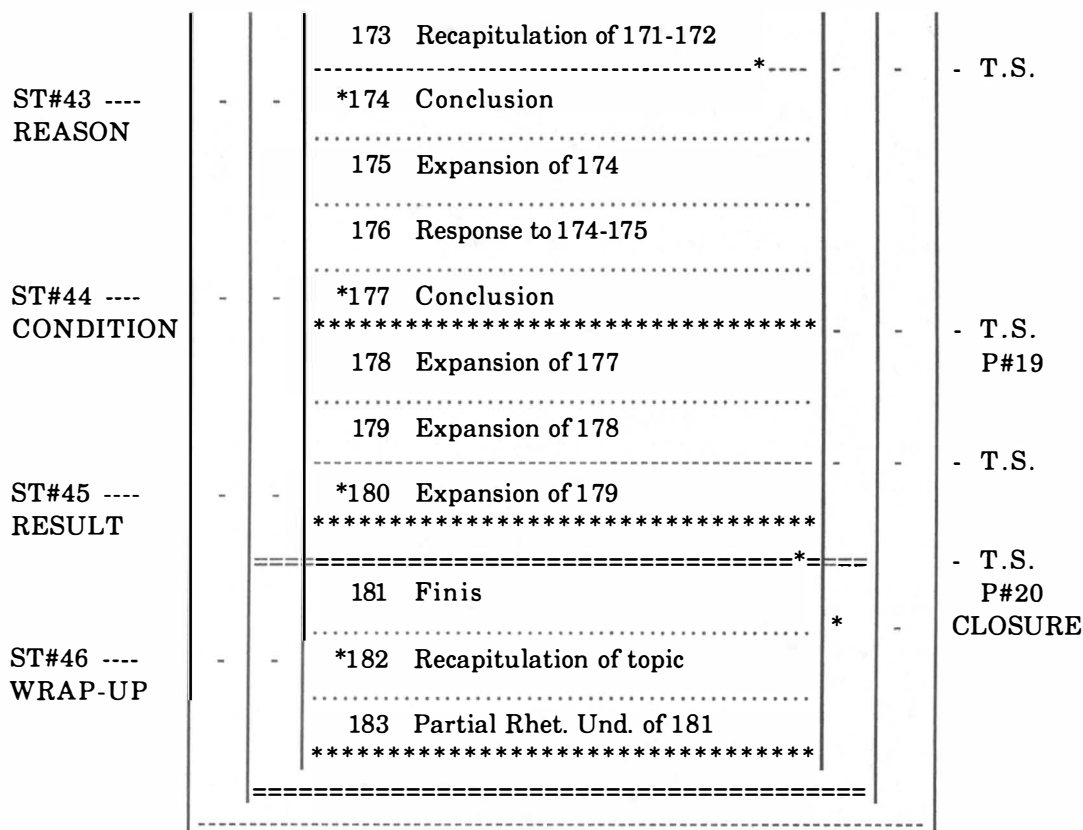


Figure 45. Sentence notional structure chart

8.5.5 Primary parameter

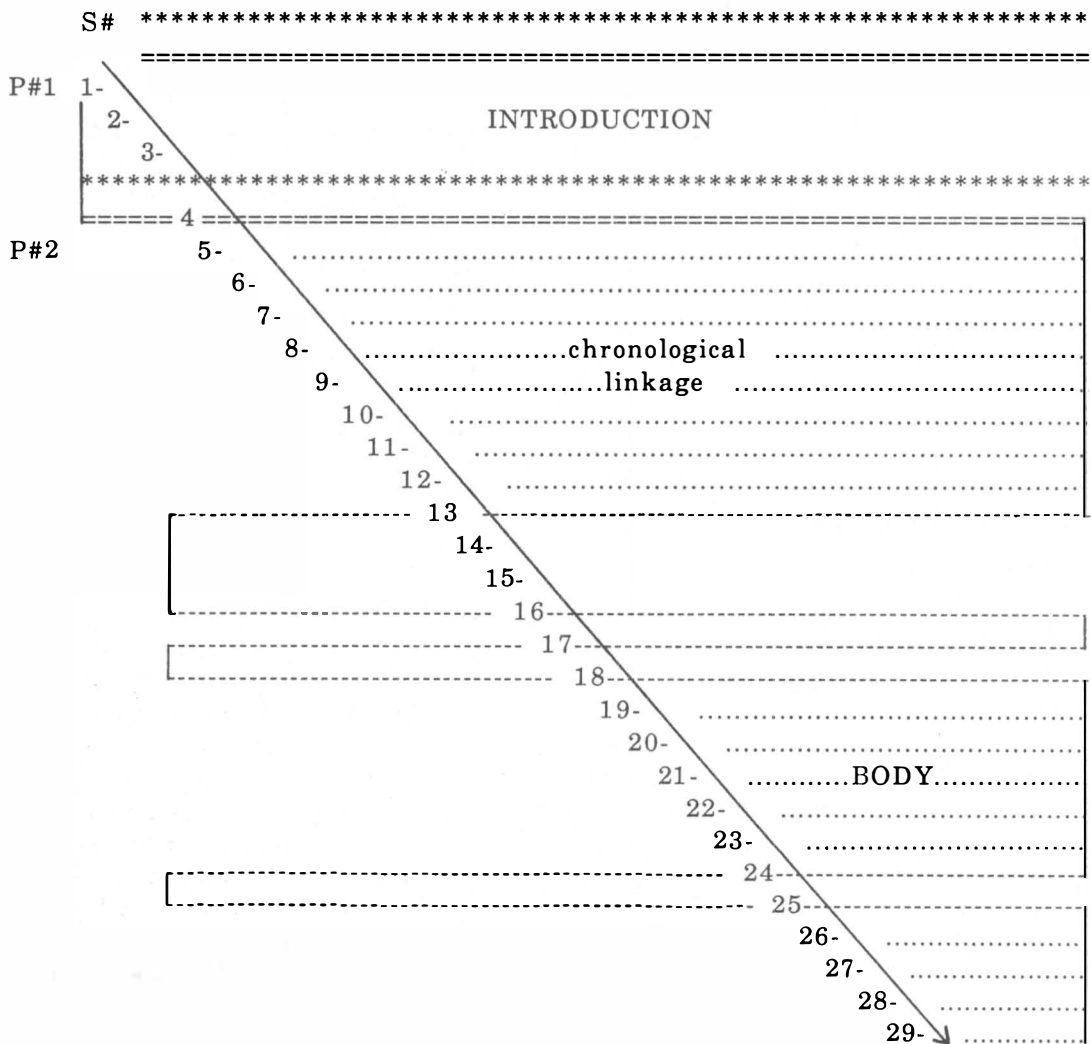
8.5.5.1 Cohesion

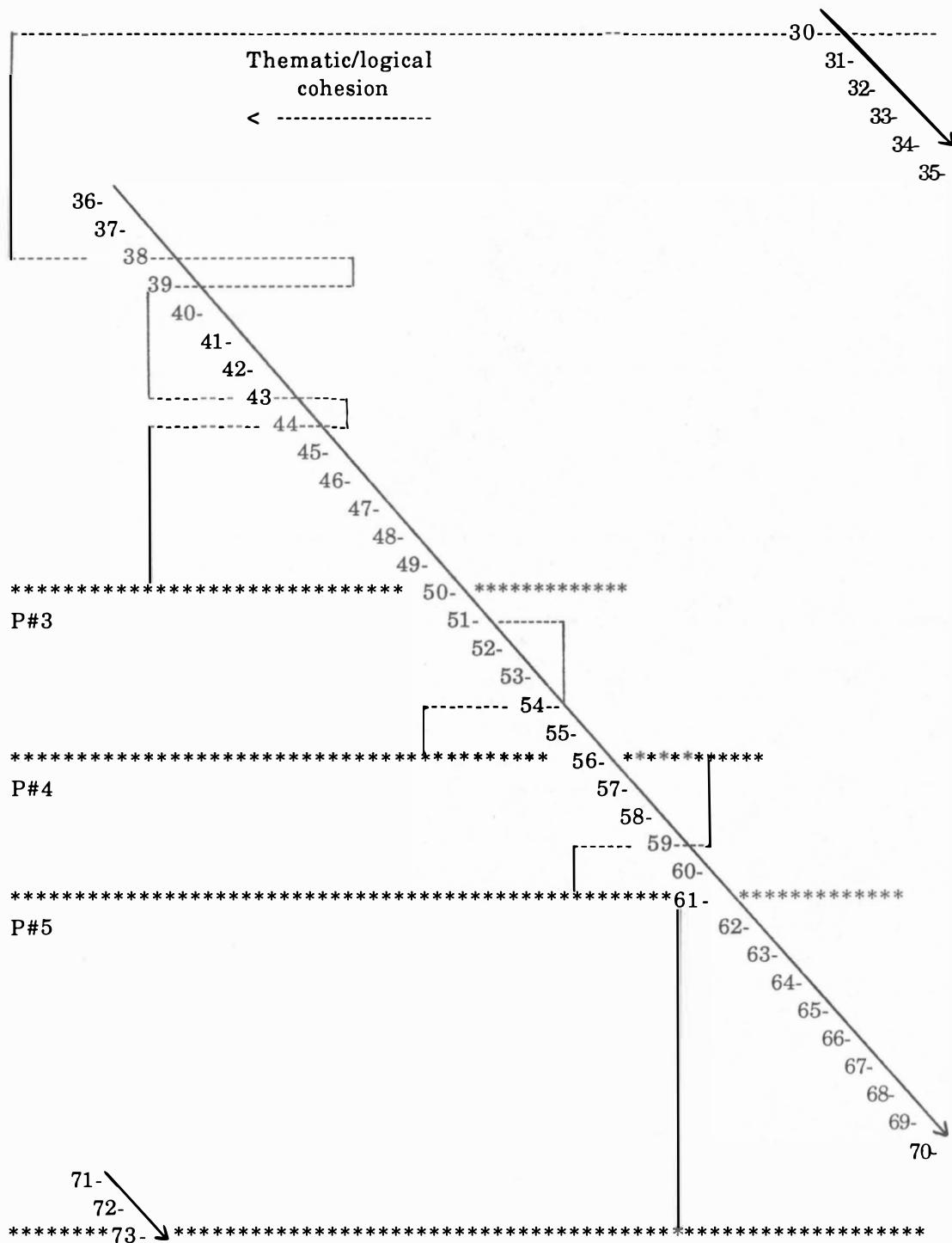
Una expository discourse reflects thematic cohesion within the individual paragraphs, and between the different paragraphs which form the discourse. The following example is meant to aid in reading the Chart: between the sentences 1-4 a vertical line to the left of the discourse advancement arrow indicates thematic/logical cohesion between the sentences. The vertical line between the sentences 4-13 to the right of the discourse advancement arrow indicates chronological linkage (which is a feature of narrative discourse). As is evident from the display, chronological linkage occurs only with high frequency in the appended text in the sentences 5-30, which therefore can be interpreted as being an embedded narrative discourse within the overall expository discourse. It is also evident from this display (which shows by means of the vertical lines to the left of the discourse advancement arrow) that most of the sentences show thematic/logical cohesion (which is a feature of expository discourse.) Figure 46 also indicates the time span needed

to elaborate on the various events and activities within a paragraph in relation to other paragraphs which make up the discourse.

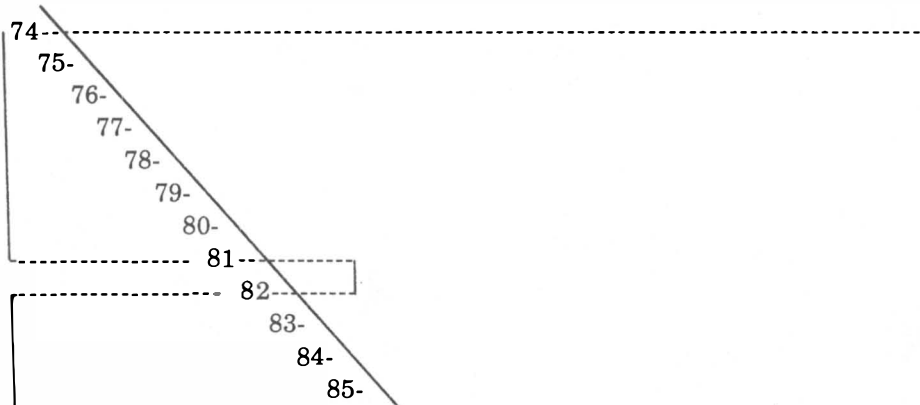
The numbers in Figure 46 refer to the sentences of the appended text. The arrow indicates movement from top to bottom through the sentences of the text. Movement from left to right in the chart indicates movement through the time continuum during which the discourse took place. Lines of asterisks mark paragraph boundaries. Other symbols and abbreviations used in this chart are explained in the key to this chart.

In summary, this display provides an indication of the time needed to elaborate the various paragraphs, and it shows clearly the embedded chronological linkage (which is indicative of the narrative discourse genre) within the overall expository discourse.

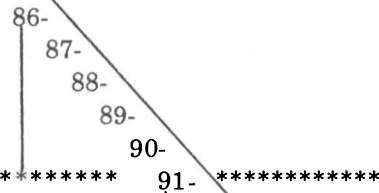




P#6



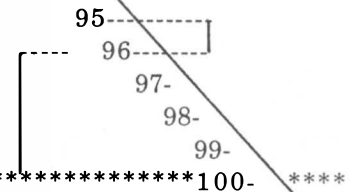
P#7



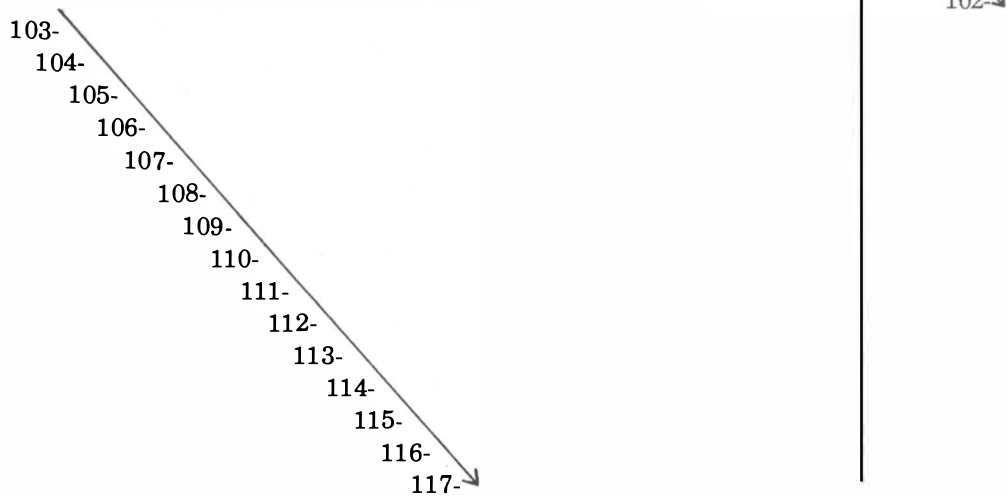
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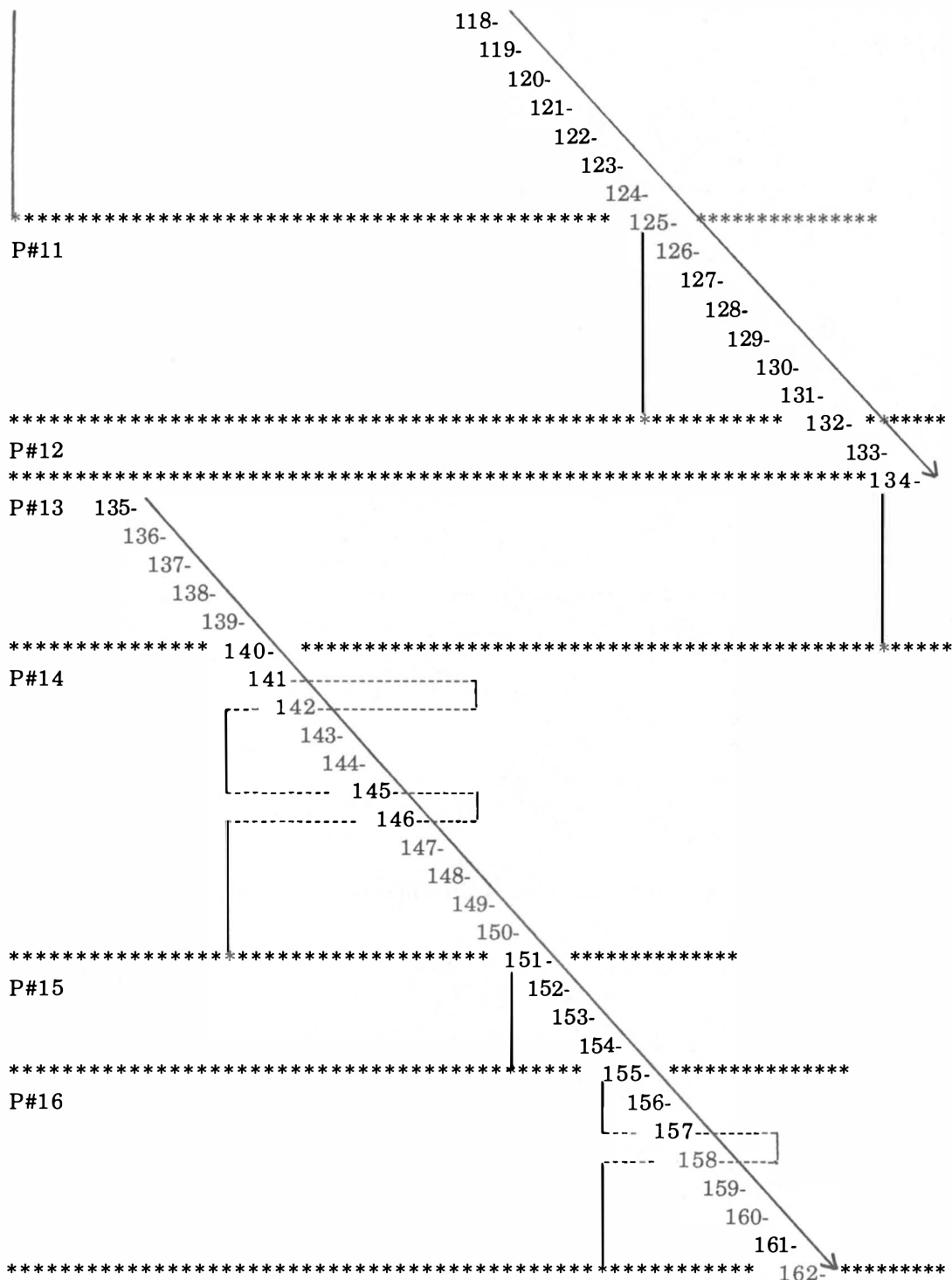


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P#10





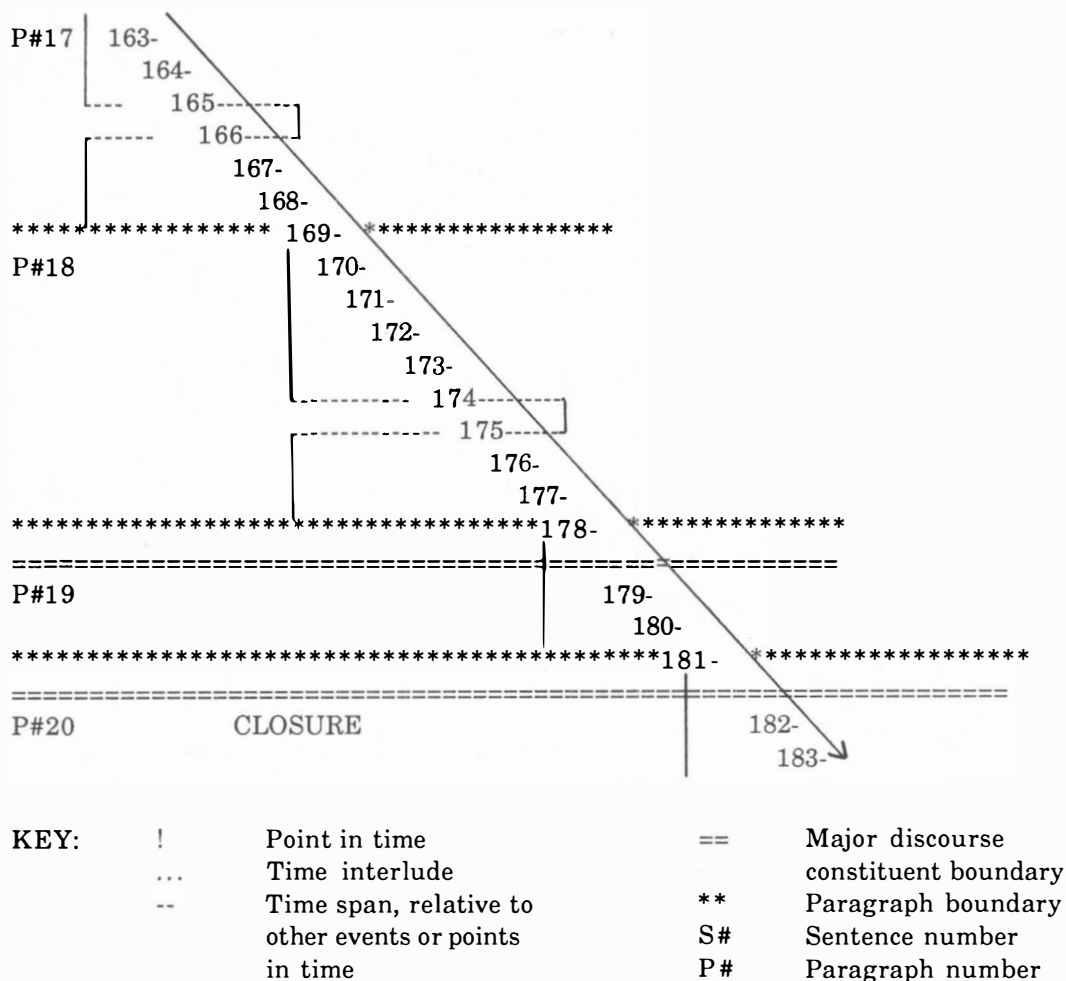


Figure 46. Sentence timespan and cohesion chart

8.5.5.1.1 Chronological cohesion

Chronological cohesion is reflected in the initial verb of the Repetition or Recapitulation clause by either an initial verb with a:

1. Dependent preview aspect suffix *-ura*, *-uca*, or *-obora* (sentences 6, 12, 98);
2. Simultaneous aspect suffix *-iyjok* (sentence 53);
3. Simulfactive aspect suffix *-bok* (sentence 58, 73);
4. following coordinate conjunction *ani*, *ton*, *ara*, *ura*, *asiy* or *ba* (sentences 5, 51, 80, 31, 66, 152);
5. with a following *talak* 'time'; or by
6. the sentence initial free form *a talak* 'at that time'.

8.5.5.1.2 Thematic/logical cohesion

Thematic cohesion within Una expository discourse is mainly a reference by the content of the first clause, or sentence of a paragraph, which relates to, and is maintained by, the overall topic of the discourse and also to that what follows from thereon in the paragraph. The thematic cohesion forms a basic condition-result-reason notional relation within and between succeeding paragraphs. This basic notional structure is usually in the above mentioned order, but not necessarily so.

In the sample text five different paragraph types have been noticed:

1. Condition-result-reason: paragraphs 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 14, 18;
2. Condition-result: paragraphs 9, 12, 13, 17, 19;
3. Condition-reason-result: paragraph 15;
4. Condition-reason: paragraph 16;
5. Result-reason: paragraph 8.

However, the condition of paragraph 8 is expressed in the previous paragraphs of the text. Therefore we can say: (1) a conditional constituent is an obligatory notional feature expressed in the text of a paragraph or in a previous paragraph; (2) a conditional constituent obligatorily precedes either/or reason-result or vice versa. The basic condition-result-reason structure in a discourse may be expanded seemingly *ad infinitum*. In a few cases the notional relation is encoded in an initial clause which indicates a reason for a certain event. Note for example, in sentence 159, *a deyok aji* 'for that reason'. A specific class of verb inflection marks the hypothetical or reason- result 'if ... then' conjunctions (cf. 2.9.(2)). The following sample taken from another discourse shows this: *Ni: Anyi kum bingnun ebtinyura, ni tola enanyi kurantinyi* 'when I say that I don't know that fellow, then I am a liar!' The basic notional structure is usually very clear notwithstanding the very limited amount of reason-result conjunctions, and sometimes the absence of grammatical evidence encoding the cohesion between a condition paragraph and a previous paragraph (cf. sentences 91, 101 and 126).

8.5.5.2 Participant orientation

Participant orientation in Una usually does not cause any problems due to the fact that the agent obligatorily is encoded not only in the verb, but also optionally, but frequently, in the form of a personal pronoun, proper noun or descriptive noun or noun phrase (cf. Figure 43). Unlike other languages Una, with its very precise agent reference system in the verb, does not give too many opportunities for ambiguities with respect to who is doing what to whom. The information is usually clearly encoded.

In this expository discourse we notice individual and unitary reference. There is group reference, either to individual centred groups (as in sentence 38 *sun Okbab baramnyi nang* 'the people who walked to Okbab'), or to collective groups in which no individual stands out: (e.g., sentences 32-36: 'they ... all people'). Some groups are partitionable into smaller groups; (e.g. sentences 38 and 163: 'the Kerabuk people who went to Okbab ... they' and sentence 41: 'Nginngin, Dinab and Etum ... they all').

Reference to conventional groups occurs often in this discourse so that 'they' automatically refers to the entire society of Langda of which the narrator is a part, and where most events occurred.

A certain amount of referential shifting goes on; groups expand and contract. There is also change in the scale with which the narrator views the others/himself without changing membership; e.g. in sentences 126-131 in which he refers to himself as being a part of a groups of young children: *nuram kum ... nun weyk kum ... nun mitik mabwa ... ni weyk kibmasibok* (my-talk not ... we big not ... we small children ... while-I-grew-up) 'I did not say that ... we were not big ... we were small children ... while I grew up ...'. As seen above, the narrator sometimes focuses on himself, sometimes on the group, without apparent reason.

Sometimes zero (Ø) identification occurs in certain environments, usually in rapid speech near the discourse peaks which show a high degree of excitement. However, in those cases the identity of the participants which are in focus is completely clear to the audience (cf. sentences 66, 101, 150, 151 and 169).

8.5.6 Secondary parameters

Events happen somewhere in time and space. Both are quite clearly marked in the discourse, as will be seen below.

8.5.6.1 Temporal setting

8.5.6.1.1 Circumstantial or biological time setting

Time setting in Una can be established by reference to some circumstance happening at the time of the event, or to some biological stage (cf. 3.5.A) by means of some construction which includes *uk*, *tum* or *talak* 'time/period' such as *uk tentok tum aji* 'once upon a time'. The time setting can also be re-established by use of *a talak aji* 'at that time', or as in sentence 26: *kalingnamnyi talak aji* 'during the time that they waited'.

Every new predication takes the narrated time forward to some degree, on a scale that is not predictable. Time may be in relation to other happenings, as in sentences 156 *ni dianyi talak aji* 'around the time of my death', and 158 *Memer deybcu tum aji* 'at the time of Memer's birth'.

8.5.6.1.2 Conventional time setting

There can also be a conventional time setting involving the two triplets and one quintet which the Una people distinguish, as described under 3.5.B.

8.5.6.1.3 Natural phenomenal time setting

Time in reference to a certain position of sun, moon and stars is also frequently used. Una has an extensive vocabulary for time reference in relation to these celestial bodies. Time reference by means of the seasons also belongs in this category (cf. 3.5.C).

8.5.6.1.4 Culturally recognized time setting

Culturally recognized temporals are frequently referred to in Una discourse. For a description of some culturally recognized temporals cf. 3.5.D.

8.5.6.1.5 Contextual time setting

Finally, contextual time reference, which has been described under 8.5.5.1.1-2 'Chronological and thematic/logical cohesion', is also used frequently by the Una people in their discourse.

8.5.6.2 Spatial setting

Una defines a primary setting as the area around the person from whose viewpoint the event is told. Besides the use of proper nouns or noun phrases for locations, there are two sets of locational deictics or demonstrative pronouns, each with proximal and distal forms. The first defines places and movements within (proximal) or outside (distal) the primary setting. The only distinction between these two sets of locational

deictics/demonstrative pronouns marking relative nearness or remoteness is contrastive tone. The directions are not tied to any point of the compass but to factors of location of high ground, river flow and same elevation, or same elevation across a declivity in relation to the location of the narrator. This primary set (cf. Figure 20) gives a very precise definition of the setting.

There exists also a set of verbs of motion used for secondary setting. They have been identified in the Thurman-Grimes Chart in italics. The spatial setting may be redefined during the course of a text, either by describing the location of a new setting, or by relative redefinition by means of one of the verbs of motion, which takes the most recent setting in relation to the narrator as its point of departure. As an example of the use of these verbs of motion for redefinition of the spatial setting the following verb roots occur in the identified sentences in the appended text:

<i>bin-</i>	'go'	(4, 5, 15, 23, 24, 38, 43)
<i>yan-</i>	'come'	(10, 27, 41, 44, 45, 48, 49, 51, 53, 54, 56)
<i>yuryibin-</i>	'pass by descending'	(19, 22, 30)
<i>yibin-</i>	'pass by'	(27, 28, 29, 30)
<i>wek-</i>	'enter'	(32, 33, 34)
<i>sak-</i>	'fall'	(35, 65, 67, 68, 69)
<i>anab-</i>	'leave'	(15)
<i>bukeyb-</i>	'put down'	(6, 7)
<i>kweb-</i>	'circle'	(31)

Other verbs of motion which do not occur in the sample text, and which are also used for redefinition of setting in space, are:

<i>welebin-</i>	'ascend-go'	<i>weleyan-</i>	'ascend-come'
<i>yurbin-</i>	'descend-go'	<i>yuryan-</i>	'descend-come'

These verbs of motion though, really include the spatial setting too, because ascending or descending always takes place on a particular surface, or in the sky, so that the direction, location and action are all combined in one word. Grimes (1971:68) calls this inseparable direction and location of the verbs of motion an 'inner locative', as opposed to an 'outer locative', which is a separable setting.

8.5.6.3 Performative information

In the sample text only a few cases of performative information have been observed, viz., in sentences 1, 120, 126 and 181-183. In these cases the relation of narrator to hearer and the content of the discourse are taken into account. This introductory statement to the discourse states the explicit separation between the time of the speech event and the happening. The same is true for the contents of sentence 20 (*Sunay (kansi)* 'Their father (that's you)' referring to the hearer of the discourse), and sentence 126 (*Nuram kum* 'I didn't say so', which is an explanation to the hearers about the narrator's behaviour at the time of the happening). Labov and Waletzky (1967:12-44) tell us that it is a frequent occurring phenomenon that in the introduction to a discourse an explicit separation

between the time of the narration and the happening is made. This is similar to what is mentioned above regarding this Una discourse. The coda brings these two back together again. We can see this in sentences 180-183 where the narrator states that he now concludes the telling of the story which he started with the opening statement of sentence 1.

8.5.6.4 Repetition, summary, backflash, tail-head linkage, back-reference and preview

In Una discourse repetition, summary, backflash, tail-head linkage, back-reference and preview are used frequently (cf. sentences 1, 2 and 14), and play an important part. Words, clauses, sentences and paragraphs are repeated and paraphrased by means of very generic predicates and substitutes. Back-reference by means of literal repetition or summary in the form of paraphrase never occurs across paragraph boundaries (cf. Chapter 7). This is in contrast to backflash which occurs exclusively across paragraph boundaries. Both types of reiteration are used for emphasis, to link one part of the discourse with another, to show continuation, and to give added information. This added information is presented by means of overlay and expansion. Overlay and expansion of previous text is expressed by means of back-reference in sentence 22 which goes back to (->) 19, 41 --> 39, 43 --> 39, 46 --> 34, 51 --> 49, etc.

Reiteration by means of 'Tail-head linkage' (Thompson and Longacre 1978:60) is a device frequently used in Una discourse, especially in narrative discourse. In this expository discourse it is frequently used in the first paragraph where part or all of the preceding sentence is repeated in the onset of the next sentence in an Adverbial Clause. The Adverbial Clause has the function of maintaining discourse perspective between successive parts of the sentence and paragraphs relative to the discourse as a whole. The tail-head linkage can also give a summary of previous actions, or it can imply a script-like movement; e.g. 'come--pass by--go'. In this case the tail-head linkage does not need to be exact. See for example sentences 10 and 11 *yanmarey* 'they two came' and *yibanmarey* 'they two passed by and went', in which the latter is a continuation of the movement from the viewpoint of the narrator. In Una oral and written presentation of discourse (especially in narrative discourse) tail-head linkage is automatic, so that every successive sentence which moves the event-line forward in a narrative paragraph will have such a tail-head linkage. However, it seems typical for at least some Papua New Guinea/Irian Jaya languages like Dani, Yali and Una, that the tail-head linkage infrequently gives way in some of the successive units to another conjunction, or to asyndeton (cf. Bromley 1972; Fahner 1979 and others). This same phenomenon is reported in Philippine languages such as Taboli (Longacre 1968 I:61-62; Thompson and Longacre 1978:66). The effect of this occasional elimination, or substitution of the subordinating adverb, is that the independent clause now functions as tail-head linkage.

In Figure 47 Una surface structure markers are ranked according to a rank scheme:

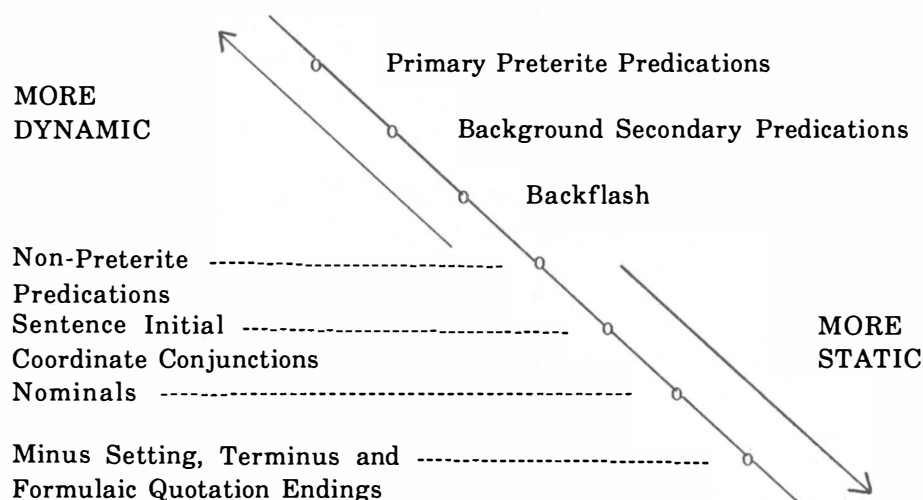


Figure 47. Tentative discourse spectrum

A cline of information which ranges from the most dynamic elements of the discourse to the most static (depictive) elements are revealed in the surface structure of the text. Surface structure markers on the right-hand side of the spectrum line of Figure 47 are the most dynamic; those at the lower left-hand side are the most static. The main-line is carried by primary preterite predications, which are either sentence final, medial, or initial, and respectively independent, dependent anticipatory and dependent preview, but always have full verbal inflection. This inflection always shows the person and number of the agent, and optionally the person and number of the object.

Less important actions are marking increased background colour and detail. They are indicated by secondary predications with the suffix *-oka* 'same actor marker' following the verb root. etc.

Summarizing the rest of the main-line from dynamic toward static we find backflash used for decrease of main-line flow, and therefore this probably should be somewhat lower than background secondary predications. Non-preterite predications containing tenses such as present, present perfect, and future, which figure in narrative mainly in quotes and in awareness depiction, come somewhere down in succession. They are followed by sentence initial coordinate conjunctions (cf. 8.5.5.1.1) which replace sentence initial dependent preview verbs. Even further down come nominals, acting as identifiers for participant identification due to lack of sentence final full inflection verbs and deletion of setting, terminus and formulaic quotation endings.

8.5.6.5 Peak and profile

Having described some features of the communication setting in which the expository discourse was created and the grammatical hierarchy of the discourse, I have described the notional relationship within the expository discourse: condition, result, and reason. In the following chapters some features of the surface realization of the notional structure, or the spectrum of the expository discourse were analyzed. These were divided into primary and secondary parameters. The former included chronological and thematic/logical cohesion and participant orientation, and the latter included setting (spatial and temporal), performative information, and other information such as background and collateral information (see Figure 43). Next foregrounded and backgrounded, or primary and secondary predication features have been described. The expository discourse, however, contains not only this spectrum of information, but it has also a profile; i.e. the contour of a spoken or written discourse which shows the differing levels of excitation and tension. The appended discourse shows six cumulative development areas (cf. Figure 49) in which the flow of discourse seems to quicken and grow more turbulent. These areas we will call peaks. These peaks

1. correlate with underlying notional categories;
2. show specific surface structure markers;
3. are more difficult to analyze due to abnormal grammatical features; and
4. are features which serve to give profile to the discourse.

The surface structure profile of the sample text can be summarized as in Figure 48:

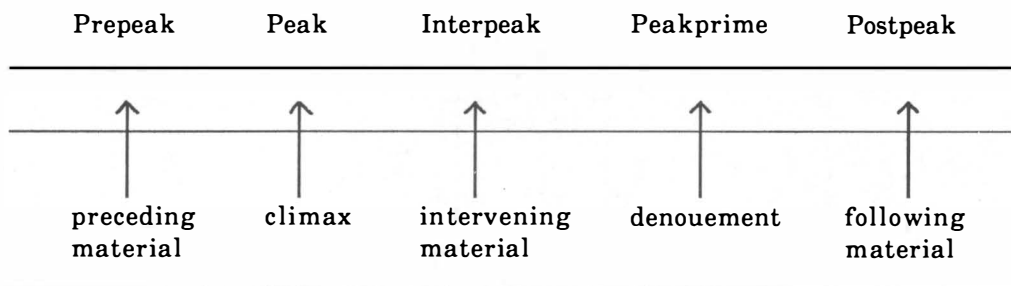


Figure 48. Surface structure profile

As mentioned above, six didactic peaks can be isolated in the appended discourse, of which three can be interpreted as embedded peaks and one as an interpeak. When we now plot the discourse in terms of mounting tension towards the peaks the loosening tension/denouement following peakprime we get a structure such as the one symbolized in Figure 49.

A number of features of didactic peak in the sample text are visible in the sentences indicated in Figure 50.

PROFILE OF DOUBLE PEAK DISCOURSE WITH EMBEDDED SECONDARY DISCOURSE PEAKS

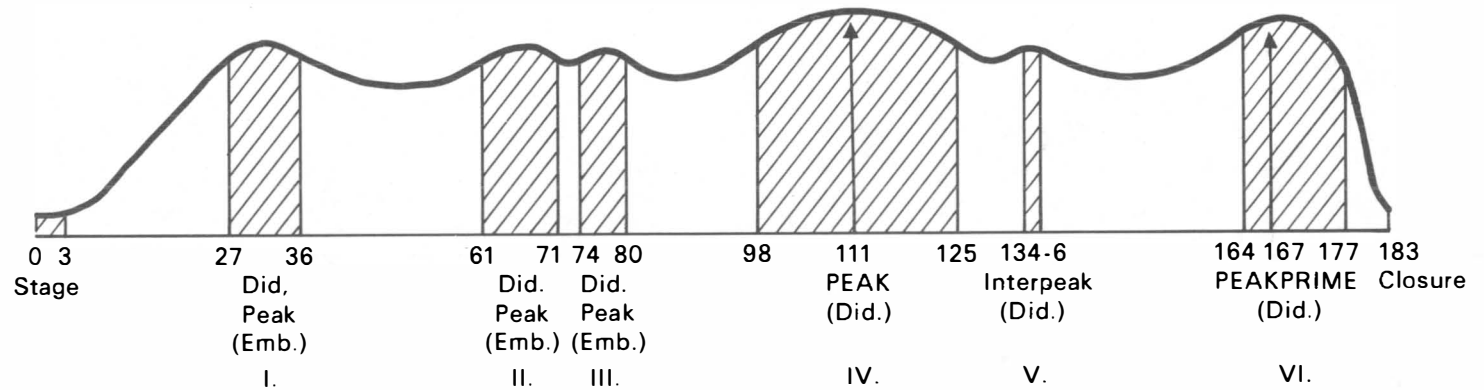


Figure 49.

DP	No Chron. Progress	Cyclic	Rep./ Paraph	D/M	Onom.	Short Snt.	Long Snt.
I	28-31	single loop	28-30, 33, 34	D 34-36	-	27-36	-
II	62-66, 67, 69	double loop	62-66, 67, 69	D 61-69	-	61-70 ³¹	71
III	75-80	single loop	75-80	M 74-80	-	74-80	-
IV	99-125	multiple loops	99,100, 102,103, 106, 108, 112-118, 121-125	D 98-125	98-100 107,108	98-115 117-123	116, 124,125
V	135-136	single loop	135	M 134-136	134,135	134-136 ³²	-
VI	166-173	single loop	166-168 171,173	D 164-177	166-173	164-174	175

KEY: D = Dialogue Rep. = Repetition
 M = Monologue Paraph = Paraphrase
 DP = Didactic Peak Onom. = Onomatopoeia

Figure 50. Didactic peak features

As can be seen by comparing Figures 49 and 50 the main peak markers are slowdown or complete ceasing of main-line movement at didactic peak while somebody speaks. This speech can take the form of pseudodialogue, dialogue, drama and monologue. In any case the text is non-narrative but mainly expository and in some cases hortatory (cf. sentences 70, 104, 136, 177) or avolitional (cf. sentences 79 and 80). The cyclic structure of the main-line, which according to Longacre (1981:349) is not uncommon in well-composed hortatory and expository discourse, can have the form of a single or double loops (i.e. reiteration of previous material; cf. 8.5.6.4), or the form of a series of multiple slightly expanded overlapping loops. There is a lot of description of, and attention drawn to, the props in these didactic peaks.

Furthermore, to insure that the peak passes by rather slowly, extensive use is made of rhetorical underlining by means of exact repetition, slightly expanded or somewhat cleverly disguised repetition, and paraphrase.

The rhetorical underlining in this expository discourse has two distinctive forms: packing and extending of the main-line. In most cases, except in the relatively brief interpeak of sentences 134-136 where the main-line is packed, all other peaks show a lot of detail. The focus is on the minutiae, the component actions of the overall action of the macro structure (cf. 8.6).

The general ratio of verbs to nonverbs in Una expository discourse is one : three and a half. At the peaks it is one : four and a half. One of the reasons for this lower ratio of verbs to nonverbs at the peak is the prominence of nouns and noun phrases, and deletion of verbs in peak material (cf. sentences 99-108 which have a very low ratio of 2 : 31).

As Longacre (1981:350) notices, it might well be that the concentrated interweaving of themes in this expository discourse constitutes a non-narrative peak marking device which parallels the concentration of participants as a peak marking device in narrative.

This is one of the reasons, besides the high frequency of chronological cohesion, that I prefer to interpret sentences 5-30 as an embedded narrative discourse within the overall expository discourse.

In this discourse there can be observed along the parameters of dialogue, which appears most frequently, a shift to pseudo dialogue (sentences 32-34, 36-37, 56-57 and 119). Pseudo-dialogue includes apostrophe and rhetorical questions, which give colour to the discourse, and resemble dialogue, but do not evoke answers. Apostrophe, which turns aside from the course of the main-line, is clearly shown in sentences 32-34 where the attention is suddenly turned aside from the approaching helicopters to the hiding people. The same is true for sentences 56-57 which I have not interpreted as peak, but which show some significant features of tension-building by apostrophe. This turns the attention suddenly aside from waiting for the arrival of the aircraft to a rather unrelated topic of a caught buzzard which everybody touched. An analysis of the culture and the myths and checking with informants showed that this had nothing to do with the events which were about to happen, and therefore this turn of attention can only be explained as a means of tension building.

Sentence length is very significant in Una discourse. At peak, sentences are short and crisp with a few exceptionally long sentences (cf. sentences 71, 116, 124-125, and 175). Onomatopoeia is also used frequently at the peaks (cf. sentences 98-100, 107-108, 134-135, 166-173). The peaks show an increased measure of analytical difficulty, because some parts of sentences which usually occur in non-peak parts of a discourse, have been omitted or shifted around within the sentences.

In summary, peak in Una expository discourse is a zone of turbulence with frequent anomalies in an otherwise placid flow of discourse whose spectral lines are usually predictable.

8.6 Conclusion

Having analyzed the constituency structure (CS) and the spectrum and profile (S+P) of the discourse, it remains to look at the macro structure (MS) of this sample discourse.

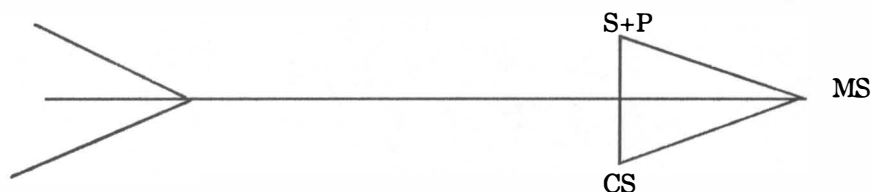


Figure 51. Flow of discourse from speaker to hearer

The Una people had (and still have) a holistic worldview, and used to view themselves as a part of their environment, on which they were dependent. They had to interact with the spirits by means of sacrifices and incantations. The spirits were supposed to reside on top of the mountains, in the trees, streams and gardens. The natural and supernatural world were not divided. There is much linguistic and cultural evidence (cf. Louwerse 1985a, b, 1987c, 1988b) to suggest that the natural world was seen as part of the whole – the supernatural world.

Now as a part of the acculturation processes, as described in this discourse, an enormous amount of new input has to be integrated in this holistic worldview. The discourse informs us about the first contact with an unknown people, including white skinned beings, with differing habits from a technological society who tumbled out of the sky in the belly of a big, noisy 'dragonfly' called *Eyliykobter*.

This new information had to be integrated in the holistic worldview, and therefore the clue of the macro structure is to be found in the peak and peakprime. At the summit of the peak (sentence 111) it is stated that these people were supernatural beings/ghosts. However, further discussion and observation reveals in the second part of the macro structure in the peakprime (sentence 177) that these creatures were human, and upon those grounds the conclusion (both typical expository discourse semantic features) was made that these people, notwithstanding their differences, ought to be welcomed with gifts as people belonging to Una society.

APPENDIX A

THURMAN-GRIMES CHART

		Event/Motion	Narrator Langda people Helicopter Pilot & Passenger Bowsi V. people White people Iymerbun V. people Kerabuk people Airplane Girls										I.D. = Identification S. = Setting B. = Background C. = Collateral P. = Performative					
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	I.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.	
01	\s	<i>Eyliykobter deyok ebkwan.</i> Helicopter story I-will-tell																I will tell the Story of the Helicopter
02	\s	<i>Eyliykobter asiy, nunci ersiy ara: "Kobor Ner" eramowbwa.</i> Helicopter NOM we-ERC her-DAT Kobor Wife we-called	*										we					called the helicopter the wife of Kobor
03	\s	<i>Langda uram: "Eyilykobter" kum eramowbwa.</i> Langda language Helicopter not we-called			*								we					didn't call it in the Langda language a helicopter
04	\s	<i>Ton me duman akwa binmow.</i> One valleys only it-went/flew				*							one		only in the valleys			
05	\s	<i>Binmow ani, Bowsi dala ey bindoka ay dobmarey.</i> It-went after B.valley up there going hut they-two-built				*		*					it they 2		up there			
06	\s	<i>Bowsi dala ay dobmareyura, niynyi bitinyi bukeybmow.</i> B.valley hut they-2-built-after, people two it-put-down			*								they 2		in the Bowsi valley			
		<i>put down</i> two persons			*								it					
07	\s	<i>Bukeybmowura, towa yala toto boboka eyliykobter um dongobmarey.</i> After it put down, vegetables carrying helicopter inside they-2-put			*		*						it they 2		carried <i>towa</i> and all kinds of vegetables and ... them inside the helicopter			

		Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	I.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.
08	\s	<i>Dobmareyura, Bowsi duman nang aji: "Sun nuner dobkwaming ate, lynkiyriymang" ebmay.</i> After-they-2-built B. valley people ERG "They our-wives they-will-marry, they-search" they-said				*		*					they 2				the people of the Bowsi valley
09	/s	<i>"lynkiyriymang" ebmayura, niyni niyja bay bukoka binsekmay.</i> "They-search" after-they-said people all bush staying they-fled						*					they ... all people				to the bush ... there
10	\s	<i>Binsekmayura, a mabmarey ani, berekwura, yanmarey.</i> After-they-fled, there they-2-slept after, after-it-dawned they-2-came					*	*					they 2 there				they 2 at dawn
11	\s	<i>A yibanmarey ani, Langda nang mutuk Biltelen dala yaniymow.</i> There they-2-passed after L. people area B. valley it-landed					*	*					they 2 there				it in a valley of the Langda people called Biltelen
12	\s	<i>Yaniymowobora, sal bitinyi sakweteboka keyl ya dobmarey.</i> After-it-landed men two jumping out rock volcanic they-2-took				*	*						it				they 2 jumped out and ...
13	\s	<i>Dobmareyobora, sun otam Iymerbun tam kunmay niyni asi: "Sun yandarut" ebmarey.</i> After-they-2-took they overthere I place they-be people Nom You come they-2-called					*						they 2				over there in Iymerbun
14	\s	<i>Nun ilil: "Obsiringnyay" eboka sun iyniybmay.</i> We fear They-will-kill-us saying they they-hid						*					they				... were afraid

[illegible]

		Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	I.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.
21	\s	"Kam nerabwa iyniybdarut" ebyobora, kam nerabwa ara, ilil kuboka iyniybmaw. Girls hide! after-they-said girls afraid being they-hid	...	having said									they				
			girls hide										girls...they		being afraid		
			yourselves...							*							
			...hid														
22	\s	Ton tubto yuryibinmow ani, tubto binmow. Then again it-passed after again it-went	after...	passed		*							it...it				
			by again														
			descending														
			... went														
23	\s	Binmow ani, me duman akwa Lukun me duman dombina, Liymanyi duman dombina, Yay duman It-went after valley only L. valley following, L. valley following Y. valley dombina me u yan me dala akwa iynkiyriymow. following water springs come valleys only it-searched	after...went...		*								it		followed only the valleys,		
			searched												the Lukun valley, the Liymanyi valley,		
															the Yay valley and ... only near the		
															river springs searching		
			after...landed		*								it				
			while...ate	*									I		there		
			sweet														
24	\s	Iynkiyriykoka iykmow ani, a kwaning yibnura, tubto anaboka binmow Searching it-landed after there sweet potatoes after-I-ate again going-out it-went	potatoes...and	*									it		appeared again		
			went														
25	\s	A Kobor Ner yankwandedo teneboka sun kalikmay. That K's wife will-she-come thinking they they-waited	... waited	*									they...		and thought: Will the		
													they		Wife of Kobor come?		
26	\s	Kalingnamnyi talak ara, nun niyja ton kekenmowbwuca, yuma ururu eykiryi kuboka a yanmow. They-waited time that we all one after-we-heard first plane up-there being here it-came	...waited	*									they		during that time when...		
			...heard one	*									all of us...we				
			and then...								*		the first airplane...it				
			came												from up there to here		
27	\s	Yanmow ani, a kuboka abuji ani, ow yibinmow. After it-came there being from down-there it-passed	after...came..								*		it...it...		being		
			passed by												there...down there		

		Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	I.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.
28	\s	<i>Kabci dam ow yibinmow.</i> Pandanus place down-there it-passed									*		it				down there near the pandanus trees
29	\s	<i>Yibinmow ani, tubto a yibow ani, tubto ow eykiryi</i> <i>kuboka yibinmow.</i> After it-passed again there it-passed, again down-there up-there being it-passed									*		it...				there being
													it				down there and up there ...
30	\s	<i>Yibinmow ani, tubto a yuryibinmow.</i> After it-passed again there it-passed-by-descending									*		it				
31	\s	<i>Ura, asiy kwemkiyriyngmow.</i> Then it-circled									*		it				there
32	\s	<i>Sun ow wekamnyi.</i> They down-there they-entered		*									they...				down there they
33	\s	<i>Ton Mataduba dam wekamnyi.</i> So Mata-sacred-men's house place they-entered			*								they...				the Mata Sacred Men's House they
34	\s	<i>Ton ow wekamowbwa asiy, ton akeji: "Uram ton ebmar.</i> So down-there we-entered, somebody ERG speech one he-speaks			*								we...				down there
					*								all people ...				
35	\s	<i>Ey sakmar.</i> Up-there it-falls									*		they...they it				up there

		Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	I.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.
36	\s	<i>A unutoda" niyni niyja ato ebmay.</i> That what people all so they-said	What's that?"...	*									they...all people				
37	\s	<i>"Nun diyrbinkwayebdo, ilildo" sun ato ebranmay.</i> We shall-we-have-a-look are-you-afraid they so said	<u>said</u> ...said to each other: "Shall we have a look or are you afraid?"	*									they... they				
38	\s	<i>Sun ato ebranmay ani, sun bindiynmayuca: "Karum tentok" sun Okbab baramnyi nang</i> They so after they-said they having-gone-and-looked "Sack one" they O. they-went people	...having said that to each other after...	*									they				
		<i>bikmayura, ato ebmay.</i> they-got-to-know-after so they-said	...had a look ...said: "It's a sack..."	*									they... they			...because that's what the people who walked to O. knew	
39	\s	<i>"Okbab tubang aji ya yokwetebmasir.</i> O. tuan ERG axe he-drop	The 'tuan' from O. dropped axes for us. The 'tuan' from Okbab did it."														
40	\s	<i>Okbab tubang aji".</i> O. tuan ERG															
41	\s	<i>Ton niyni tentok siy Nginngin ton, Dinab ton, Etum ton niyja yanmayobora: "Ya ey</i> Then person one name N. and D. and E. all after-they-came Axes up-there	after...came.. said: "You people of Langda have a look, he dropped the axes for us..."									*	some folk by the name of Nginngin, Dinab and Etum.. they...they				
		<i>yokwetebmasir asiy, Langda nang sun dobdarut.</i> he-dropped-for-us L. people you have-a-look														up there	
42	\s	<i>Nun tubang".</i> Our tuan	That's our 'tuan!'														

		Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	I.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.
43	\s	"Okbab tubang aji yokwetebmasir" ebmayobora, sun niyja: "Er Okbab tubang aji karung O. tuan ERG he-dropped-for-us after-they-said they all He O. tuan ERG such yokwetebmasir ate, nun Kerabuk bobinkwayeb" ebmay. he-dropped-for-us we K. we-will-carry they-said	...having said "The 'tuan' from O. dropped them for us"...									*	they				
			...said "The 'tuan' from O. dropped the sack for us, so we'll take it along to K."									*	all of them ...they				
44	\s	Ebmayura, sunci: "A Okbab tubang yanmar ate, nun diyboka kalikwayeb" ebmay. After-they-said they-ERG O. tuan he-comes we truly we-will-wait they-said	...having said so said									*	they				
45	\s	"Kerabuk yankwandedo, Langa yankwandedo, nun kalikwayeb" ebmay. K. will-he-come L. will-he-come we we-will-wait they said	said	*									they...				"That 'tuan' from O. will come, we'll wait for him."
													they				"Will he come to K. or L., we'll wait for him?"
46	\s	Ton uram tentok ebmar sunkaynya aji ato tenebmay. So speech one he-said their-inside ERG like they-thought	said	*													Because they thought that he said: "Supply materials with these axes I drop
47	\s	"A uram aji: 'A ya dobkwetebman ate, ay minikdarut' ebmar" sunuram aji ato ebmay. That talk ERG These axes I-drop hut you-supply he-says their-talk INST so they-said											they				
48	\s	"Ay co towboka towboka miningyanmandarut. Hut wood cutting cutting you-come-and-supply	...said "He says: 'Cut trees and supply	*									they				

		Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	I.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.
49	\s	<i>Ni ambutum yankwan' eruram aji ato ebmar" sun ebmay.</i> I tomorrow I-will-come his-talk INST like he-said															
50	\s	<i>Ururu uram kum, niyni uram kum, sunkaynya aji</i> <i>ato tenebmay.</i> Plane noise or people talk their-insides INST like they-thought															
		building materials. I will come tomorrow"															
		wondered		*									they				Was that the noise of the plane or from somebody?
51	\s	<i>"Eruram ato ebmar ate, ambutum yankwande,</i> <i>nun diybde bukwayeb" sun ato ebmay:</i> His-talk so he-said tomorrow I-will-come we truly we-will-sit they so they-said		*									they				"Because he says so, he will come tomorrow and we'll wait."
52	\s	<i>Sun ato ebmayura, sun niyni niyja bara mamnya niyja</i> <i>diybde bukmay.</i> They so they-said they people all bush they-slept all truly they-sat		*									they...they				
		...having said so		*									they all people...all...				
		...slept and waited		*									they in the gardens				
53	\s	<i>Bukmaryok: "Er yankwande asiy, una ebkwandedo" sun</i> <i>ato ebmayura: "Sun niyja ambutum ay</i> While-they-sat He he-will-come what what-will-he-say they so after-they-said You all tomorrow hut		*									they				"After he comes, what will he say?" Having said that, they said "He'll say: Hey you all we'll get a supply of building material tomorrow" And they said: "Let's get nettle leaves. We'll tell him we'll need
		while... waited...said		*													
		<i>minikwayeb" ebmay.</i> we-will-supply they-said															
54	\s	<i>Ton: "Yasun akwa boyankwayeb.</i> And: Nettle-leaves only let's get															

		Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	L.D.	S.	R.	C.	P.
55	\s	<i>Ninyi niya yamuboka nun u yinmasin ebkwayeb.</i> People all rubbing we sickness it-eats-us we-will say															to rub everybody because our body aches"
56	\s	<i>Tubang yankwande" sun ato ebmayura, bib tentok boyanmayura, a bib niya dowbmay.</i> Tuan he-will-come they like after-they-said buzzard one after-they-brought that buzzard all they-held	then...brought a Buzzard and... <u>held/ touched it</u> after...held	*									they... everybody...they				
57	\s	<i>Bib dowbmayura: Dan tam yankwandedo, owtamdo, eytamdo teneboka diybde bukmay.</i> Buzzard after-they-held What place will-he-come down-there or up-there thinking truly they-sat	it... <u>waited</u> and...	*									they... they			wondered: Where will he arrive, down there or up there?	
58	\s	<i>Sun diybde bukmaybok: "Eytam yanganmar" ebmay.</i> They truly while-they-sat Up-there he-comes they-said	while... waited... <u>said</u> : "There he comes..."	*									they... they			from the North/up there	
59	\s	<i>"Nun minob saboka dowbkwayeb" sun ato ebmay.</i> We first tobacco let's-offer they like they-said	... <u>said</u> : "Let's first offer tobacco	*									they... they				
60	\s	<i>Ton sunkaynya teleb kuboka diybde bukmay.</i> And their-inside good being truly they-sat	so... <u>waited</u> ...	*									they			happily	
61	\s	<i>"Eytam yanganmar.</i> Up-there he-comes	"He's <i>coming</i> ..."													from the North	
62	\s	<i>Ner eytam yanganmar, yim eytam.</i> Female up-there she-comes, male up-there	the woman and the male are <i>coming</i>													from the North	

		Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	I.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.
63	\s	<i>Kobor Ner ton, yim ton yanganmaring</i> . K.'s Wife and male they-2-are-coming															
64	\s	<i>Ton eyliykobter eytam yanmarey asiy: "Er ner ton, erakenyi ton yanganmaring" ebmay.</i> And helicopters up-there they-2-come She wife and her-husband they-2-are-coming they-said															
65	\s	<i>"Er ner ton, erakenyi ton" ebmay.</i> She wife and her-husband they-said															
66	\s	<i>Diybmaw ba, ton otam yanmow, asiy: "Er ner minob sakwete bmar.</i> They-looked when one overthere it-came She female first she-falls-down															
67	\s	<i>Er ner minob sakwete bmar naye.</i> She female first she-falls oh my!															
68	\s	<i>Erakenyi sakwete bmar.</i> her-husband he-falls															
69	\s	<i>Kurunyi sakwete bmar</i> . The red one he-falls															
70	\s	<i>Ner ton, sal ton yaringobora, ton Langda tam asiy biribdari niyini niyja liyboka</i> Women and men after-they-came-running, and L. place LOC tied people all pulling															

the Wife of
Kobor and
the male are
coming"

about the
helicopters
who came ...

said: "The
woman and
her husband
are coming"

...said
"That's the
woman and
her husband"

When...
looked one
...Ø(said):

"Hey, the
woman falls!
Oh my, the
woman falls!

Her husband
falls

The red one
falls!"

after...came
called
something
what we in

they up there

they

they overthere
Ø

a woman and
men...they so everybody in
Langda got scared
and with knees

		Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	I.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.
75	\s	<i>A nunti boyanmasing.</i> That for-us they-brought-it-for-us															
76	\s	<i>A nundiyni, doboka iyniydobkwayeb.</i> That's ours holding let's hide it															
77	\s	<i>Iyniydobkwayeb, utotowa niyja nundiyni akwa.</i> Let's hide it, everything our's only															
78	\s	<i>Langda nang diyni akwa.</i> L. people things only															
79	\s	<i>Laji nang yandoka: Nundiyni ebrobsingnyay.</i> L. people coming Our-things watch-it-don't-let-them question-us															
80	\s	<i>Ara, ebrobsingnyay" er Iyna beji ato ebmow.</i> So watch-it-don't-let-them-question-us															
81	\s	<i>Ton, ton nang aji: "Kum sundiyni.</i> But other people ERG No their-things					*										others...they
82	\s	<i>Ton a ibukmasir asiy, obsey cay.</i> But that-one he-watches-us watch-it-he-will-kill-us															
83	\s	<i>"Ukula mem" ato ebmay.</i> Don't steal so they-said															

		Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	LD.	S.	B.	C.	P.
84	\s	<i>Ton nang aji ato ebmayura, ton Yanke tentok a bukmow.</i> Other people ERG so they-having-said because Y. only there he-sat					*	*					others...they				
		after...said so (they saw) ... <u>sitting</u> by himself...											Yanke...he				
		... <u>said</u> by himself...											there				
85	\s	<i>Yanke tentok eruram aji: "Bok, bok, mem" er ato ebmow.</i> Y. only his-talk INST <u>Bok Bok</u> don't he like that he-said					*						Yanke...he				
		<u>said</u> : " <u>Bok</u> , <u>bok</u> , don't!"															
86	\s	<i>"Obseyca" nun: "Erci: 'Niyriynyi' ebmar" ebmowbwa.</i> Watch-it-he-will-kill-us we He-ERG This is mine he-says we-said		*									we...we				
		... <u>said</u> : "Watch it he'll kill us He says: "This is mine!"															
87	\s	<i>Iyna beji: "Kum weycabwa, nundiyini.</i> Iyna ERG No friends it's-ours		*									Iyna...he				
		... <u>said</u> : "No friends, that's ours!"											Iyna...he				
88	\s	<i>Nun Langda tam bobre binkwayeb" er Iyna ato ebmow.</i> We L. place carry we-will-go he I. like that he-said															
		Let's carry it off to Langda!"															
89	\s	<i>Er yuma mentebmony beji: "Tubto ukula</i> <i>dobkwayeb" ato ebmow.</i> He first the-one-who-missed ERG Again steal we-will-take so he-said					*						he who missed the first opportunity...he				
		... <u>said</u> : "Let's steal again!"															
90	\s	<i>Erkaynya bitinyi.</i> His-insides two													he had two hearts		
		... <u>thought</u> : We are amazed		*									the Langda people ...they				

		Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	I.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.
92	\s	<i>A diynyi asiy tubang beja.</i> These things tuan's possession	these things are from the <u>tuan!</u>														
93	\s	<i>Tubang beja mem.</i> Tuan's possessions forbidden	The possessions from the <u>tuan</u> are forbidden!														
94	\s	<i>Sun Langda nang kaynya ato tenebmaybok, sun Kerabuk nang yanmay.</i> They L. people's insides so while-they-thought they K. people they-came	while... thought like that the <u>...tune</u>	*						*			the Langda people				
95	\s	<i>Ton Ba ruma nang uram aji: "Kan Ba rumanyi yanmarimdo.</i> Some Ba valley people's talk INST You Inhabitant-of-B.-valley do-you-come	...asked Endok: "Are you somebody who comes from the Ba valley or from the Biy valley?"										some...they		in the language of the Ba valley people		
96	\s	<i>Kan Biy rumanyi yanmarimdo.</i> You Biy-Valley-inhabitant do-you-come															
97	\s	<i>Kan dan atey nang" Endok biysiy asiybmay.</i> You what village person E. they-asked	Where are you from?"														
98	\s	<i>Endok biysiy asiybmayuca, erci: "Nun urrrrru.</i> E. after-they-asked he-ERG We urrrrru	after...asked E. ...said: "We urrrrru Urrrrru Pass Valley	*									they he				
99	\s	<i>Urrrrru Basbaliy.</i> Urrrrru Pass Valley															
100	\s	<i>Urrrrru Basbaliy".</i> Urrrrru Pass Valley	Urrrrru Pass Valley														

[illegible]

		Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	I.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.
111 \s	<i>A niynyi asiy, sun iysa.</i> These people they ghosts	These people are ghosts!															
112 \s	<i>A iysa yanmang.</i> These ghosts they-come	That are ghosts who arrive!															
113 \s	<i>A iysa yanmang.</i> These ghosts they-come	That are ghosts who arrive!															
114 \s	<i>A y dakoka bobrobmang atiba iysa yanmang.</i> Hut tearing-down they-brought these ghosts they-came	These are ghosts who bring along their hut which the took apart! Ghosts!"															
115 \s	<i>Iysa" sun niynyi niyja ato ebmay.</i> Ghosts they people all like they-said	...having said so Ø(said) "Oh my ancestors, this language is unknown to us as human speech, this is a bunch of ghosts! A bunch of ghosts are arriving! These are the Ghosts of the															
116 \s	<i>Sun niyja ato ebmayobora: "Nayabwa a niynyi uram kum bikmasing ate, a iysa mer.</i> They all like they-having-said My-ancestors that human speech not we-know these ghosts bunch	...	*														they all...
117 \s	<i>Iysa mer yanmang.</i> Ghosts bunch they-come	...															
118 \s	<i>A Lub Bisam iysa mer".</i> These Rotten Pig ghosts bunch	...															
119 \s	<i>"Ey, iysado ba, dakyanmang.</i> Hey ghosts? then they-will-devour	...															

			Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	I.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.
120	\s	Sunay (kansi) kitkimdutny!" ebmay. Their-father (you) witchdoctor	Rotten Pig!" ...said: "What! Are these ghosts Then they come to devour us! Their father...is a witchdoctor!"	*										they				
121	\s	"Data iysa mer. These ghosts bunch																
122	\s	Sunay beji niynyi niyja dibman asiy kitkimdut. Their-father ERG people all deceased NOM spells-he-casts	...said: "That's a bunch of ghosts Their father casts spells on all deceased people! When he casts spells he says: "Return to life! Become ghosts He says: Get alive!" "That's the witchdoctor called 'tuan' who just arrived"	*										the Langda people ...they			(that's you)	
123	\s	Anyi kitkiboka: 'Kam bukokdum. That fellow casting-spells Alive sit-up																
124	\s	Iysa darum' ebnobora: 'Kam bukokdum' erut" Langda nang uram ato ebmay. Ghosts you-become having-said Alive sit-up he-says-always L. people talk so they-spoke																
125	\s	"Iysa kitkimdutnyi tubang a yanmar" Langda nang uram ato ebmay. Ghost one-who-casts-spells tuan there he-comes L. people talk so they-spoke																

		Event/Motion										I.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.
126	\s	<i>Nuram kum.</i> My-talk not	*									I				didn't say that
127	\s	<i>Nun weyk kum asiy, nunkaynya aji: A diyb ebmangdo...</i> We big not our-insides INST That true they-say?	*									we...we				weren't adults yet... thought: Is this all true what they say?
128	\s	<i>Nun ilil.</i> We afraid	*									we				... were scared
129	\s	<i>Nun mitik mabwa.</i> We small kids	*									we			were small kids	
130	\s	<i>Ni weyk nebmasebok, u weyk yiranow.</i> I big while-I-grew-up sick very it-ate-me	*									I...I				while...grew up, ...was very sick
131	\s	<i>A diyb ebmangdo, nakiyna kaynya aji ni diyb kum tenebmase.</i> That truth they-say feverish inside INST I truly not I-could-think	*									I...I				couldn't think straight, with a feverish mind and wondered:
132	\s	<i>"Iysa" ebmayobora: A diybdo nikaynya ato tenebmase.</i> Ghosts after-they-said That truth my-inside so I-thought	*									they				Are they telling the truth?
133	\s	<i>Ni Yanke bukmow dam yandoka bukmase.</i> I Y. he-sat place coming I-sat	*									I				
134	\s	<i>Asiy, erci: "Tubang beja, urrrrru tubang beja.</i> So he-ERG Tuan possession urrrrru tuan possession	*									I...I			at the place where Yanke sat	
												he...he				

[illegible]

		Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	I.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.
144 \s	<i>Ebmowura: "Ey Mekum nang uram ebmar.</i> After-he-said Hey, M. people talk he-speaks	because I love you" After... said that ...									*		he				
145 \s	<i>A nunmutuk nang.</i> That-fellow our-area person	said "Hey he speaks the language of the Mekum people		*									they...the people of Langda				
146 \s	<i>Kan iysa asiy miyliybmarmindo" Langda nang ato ebmay</i> You ghosts NOM do-you-help L. people so they-said	"Are you helping the ghosts?"		*									they				
147 \s	<i>"Iysa asiy miyliybmarmindo" ebmay.</i> Ghosts NOM do-you-help they-said																
148 \s	<i>Erci: "Na niymiy Langda nang bowkwa anesa yanman.</i> He-ERG I my-children L. people liver INST I-come	...said: "I come to you my children of L. because I love you. You say: 'Watch it the ghosts will kill us. But I come to you my children of L. because I love you"									*		he				
149 \s	<i>Biysa obminyay" eboka: "Na niymiy wana ayak</i> <i>Langda yanman" ebmow.</i> Ghosts watch-it-they-kill saying I-my-children love L. I-come he-said																
150 \s	<i>"Na niymiy wiyliyba".</i> I-my-children interpreter																
151 \s	<i>"Kan uram ebwiyliybrum" eboka: "Na niymiy</i> <i>wiyliyba bowkwa Langda nang bowkwa anesa</i> You talk interpret saying I my-children interpreter liver L. people liver INST	... O (said): "My children I am your interpreter"...									*		Ø				

		Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	I.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.
	<i>na yanman".</i> I I-come	said "You interpret us!" Ø(said): "I love you my children, you people of L and I came to interpret for you"	*										Ø				
152 \s	<i>Asiy Langda nang aji: "A Korubun nang uram.</i> So L. people ERG That-fellow K. people talk											*	Ø				
153 \s	<i>A erwiylinyanyi yanmar e.</i> That-fellow his-interpreter he-comes!	so...said: "That's the K. language."	*														they...the people from Langda
154 \s	<i>Uram ebwilylnanyi a nunmutuk me duma nang</i> <i>yanmarura, da iysa mer yanmang" ebmay.</i> Talk interpreter that our-area valley people after- he-came these ghosts bunch they-come they-said	That fellow comes as his interpreter that fellow from one of our valleys came as interpreter but these are ghosts!"															
155 \s	<i>Ebmayobora, Memer beji: "Nayabwa o.</i> After-they-said M. ERG My-fathers!	...having said so...said: "My fathers A. told us: 'Around the time of my death we will see people we	*														
156 \s	<i>Er Alim nang minob aji: 'Ni dianyi talak nun kum</i> <i>eyriyamibyi nang atey longobkwaming'</i> He A. person before ERG I die time we not we-saw people village they-will-walk <i>ebmow.</i> he-said		*										they Mamer...he				

		Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	LD.	S.	B.	C.	P.
157 \s	<i>Er minob dinsinkiyk aji asiyng eyboka ato ebmow.</i> He before just-before-he-died-vision INST eyes seeing so he-said	never saw before walking before our eyes'. He told															
158 \s	<i>Memer deybei tum aji iysa ner, menengyangaci ner asiy: 'Malyo ner aji deyanci miy alok</i> M. birth time female-ancestor first woman M. woman ERG she-bore child first <i>asiy karebdarut'" ebmow.</i> NOM give-it he-said	that in a vision, just before he died. He said: 'At the time of of Memer's birth it was said to our female ancestor:															
159 \s	<i>A deyok aji nun: Iysa mer yanmangdo, niynyi yanmangdo.</i> That reason ERG we Ghosts bunch they-come on people they-come	Present this first born son of the M. female ancestor."...															
160 \s	<i>Iysa mer oyibkwansingdo.</i> Ghosts bunch will-they-devour-us	female ancestor."...															
161 \s	<i>Sun Langda nang ton, Eyduma nang ton sunkaynya ato tenebmay.</i> They L. people and E. valley people their-insides so they-thought	<u>thought</u>		*													we...the people of Langda and the Ey River valley ...
162 \s	<i>Kerabuk nang Okbab eyriyramnyi nang aji: "Okbab tubang aji yaliya utotowa</i> K. people O. they-saw people ERG O. tuan ERG cowry-shells all-kinds	...said: "This is the tuan of O. who creates the cowry shells							*								for that reason: Are these ghosts or humans which arrive? Will these ghosts devour us? they...the people of Kerabuk who had been sight-seeing in Okbab

[illegible]

		Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	I.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.
169 \s	<i>Ebmayura: "Kan urrrrru Langda.</i> After-they-said You urrrrru L.	...having said so ... Ø(said): "You came with the urrrrru to Langda. Where are you from?"				*				*			they Ø				
170 \s	<i>Kan dan atey nang".</i> You what village people																
171 \s	<i>"Urrrrru Basbaliy.</i> Urrrrru Pass Valley	...said: "Urrrrru comes from P.V.				*							they				
172 \s	<i>Urrrrru Langda.</i> Urrrrru L.	The urrrrru went to Langda.															
173 \s	<i>Basbaliy urrrrru Langda" ebmayobora, sun:</i> <i>"E a Basekaliy nang.</i> Pass Valley urrrrru L. after-they-said They Hey these Pass Valley people	The urrrrru flew from P.V. to L. ...said: "Hey, these people come from P.V. and one fellow is from K.			*								they...they				
174 \s	<i>Ton Korubun nang yanmar.</i> One K. person he-comes																
175 \s	<i>Korubun nang meyci dina tam ton, Basekaliy nang</i> <i>meysi dina tam yanmang ate, nun kwaning</i> K. person on one side and Pass Valley people on one side they-come, we sweet potatoes <i>nijja kiyrbinkwayeb" ebmay.</i> all we-will-insert-go they-said	So these people come from K. and P.V. Let's all haul sweet potatoes for them!"															

		Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	I.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.
176\s	"Nun niynyi saboka boboka nuniynyi durongobkwayeb. We people tobacco carrying our-people we-will-receive	...said: "Let our people get tobcco and let's welcome them as people belonging to us! We first thought that they were ghosts, but they are human, so let's get tobacco! Everybody from W., L. and K. you all get your tobacco! Let's welcome them!"		*									they...they				
177 \s	Minob iysa tenebmab asiy, niynyi kibre ate, saboka boyandarut. First ghosts we-thought people being tobacco let's-haul																
178 \s	Wasumuji nang saboka, Laji nang saboka, Kerabuk nang saboka niyja boyandarut. W. people tobacco, L. people tobacco, K. people tobacco let's haul																
179 \s	Durongobkwayeb" ebmay.																
180 \s	Sun ato ebmayura, kwaning kiyboka, kwalyi kiyboka, saboka boboka: "Siyl tong keta dam They so after-they-said sweet potatoes inserting, bananas inserting, tobacco carrying Siyl tong dancing place asiy Basekaliy nang saboka atam deybsib, kwaning atam deybsib" ebmay. Pass Valley people tobacco that-place let's lay-down,	...having said so: ...said: "Let's lay down this tobacco for the P.V. people here, and the		*									they...they			loaded their stringbags with sweet potatoes and bananas, and carrying the tobacco...	

		Event/Motion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	I.D.	S.	B.	C.	P.
bananas let's lay down they-said		sweet potatoes there at the Siyl Tong dancing place"															
181	\s	<i>A deyok ara, siyya ebman.</i> That story finished I-tell	*										I				have finished telling that story have completed telling the story of the airplane and helicopters. That's it!
182	\s	<i>Ururu, eyliykobter deyok akunum ebman.</i> Airplane, helicopter story complete I-tell	*										I				
183	\s	<i>Siyya.</i> That's it															

Figure 52. Thurman-Grimes chart

APPENDIX B

THE STORY OF THE HELICOPTER

The following text is a moderately free translation of the Una text of Appendix A:

I will tell (you) the story of the helicopter. We used to call the helicopter the Wife of Kobor. In the Langda language we didn't call it 'a helicopter'.

(One day) one flew around in these valleys. It went into the Bowsi valley, and there two men made their camp. The chopper delivered two people. They carried *towa* vegetables and put them inside the helicopter. After they made their camp the Bowsi valley people said, "They are searching for our women to marry them". So everybody fled to the bush and stayed there. After they slept there they came (to us) at dawn. They passed by there and landed in Biltelen, one of the garden areas of the Langda people. After it (the helicopter) landed, the two men jumped out and picked up rocks for stone axes. Then both of them called to the people who were there near the Iymerbun area, and said, "Come!" We were scared and they said, "Watch them! They will kill us!" and so they hid themselves. From there both of them went on to the Yay valley, where they picked up rocks for stone axes, and set traps for marsupials, and caught one. Having caught a *saring* marsupial they ate it. Then they went again out of the Yay valley and passed by there descending. They said, "They don't take old women from us. You girls hide yourselves!" So the girls became afraid and hid themselves. After it passed by descending, it went again in the valleys and followed only the Lukun valley, the Limanyi valley, and the Yay valley, and searched only near the springs of the rivers. After they searched and landed, they ate sweet potatoes there, appeared again and left. The people waited and thought, "Will the Wife of Kobor come (here)?"

During that time when they waited all of us heard one, and then we saw how the first airplane came from the North. It came here, passed by, and went down over there. It passed there near that pandanus tree. Then it passed by again, and having been down there and up there again, it passed by. (Later it passed by again descending right there.) Then it circled and searched. Those people down there went inside (their hut). They entered the Mata Sacred Men's House. So we entered down there and (suddenly) somebody said, "Somebody speaks! Something falls down up there!" "What's that?" they all said. "Shall we have a look--or are you afraid?" they said to each other. After they (the people of Langda) said this to each other they went over there and had a look. "It's a sack" they said, because that's what the people who walked to Okbab knew. "The white man of Okbab dropped axes for us! The white man of Okbab did it!" they said. Then some folk by the name of Nginngin, Dinab, and Etum came and said, "You people of Langda have a look, he dropped the axes for us up there! That's our white man." They said, "The

white man of Okbab dropped the sack for us, so we will take it along to Kerabuk". Having said so, they (the Langda people) said, "Will that white man from Okbab come to Kerabuk or to Langda? We will wait (for him)." That's because they thought that he said, "Supply building materials for a hut with these axes I drop!" They said, "He said, 'Cut trees and supply building materials for a hut. I will come tomorrow.'"

They wondered: "Was that the noise of an airplane or a human voice?" They said, "Because he says so, he will come tomorrow and we will wait (for him)". Having said so, everybody slept and waited in the garden huts. They waited and said, "After he comes what will he tell (us)?" They said, "He will say: 'Hey you all, we will get a supply of building materials for a hut tomorrow.'" Then they said, "Let's get nettle leaves. We will tell him we need to rub everybody because our bodies ache."

Then they brought a Long Tailed Buzzard, and everybody held it and wondered: Where will he arrive? Down there in the South, or in the North?

While they waited (suddenly) they called, "There he comes from the North! Let's first offer tobacco!" And so they waited happily. "There he comes from the North! The female and male (bird) are coming from the North! The Wife of Kobor and the male are coming!" They said about the helicopters who came up there, "The woman and her husband are coming." They said, "That's the woman and her husband." When they looked over there they said, "Ooh! The woman is falling. Oh my! The woman falls! Her husband (too) falls! The red one falls!" After a woman and some men came running, they called something like, "Come here everybody!" (That's what we in the Langda language would say.) So everybody in Langda got scared and with shaking knees they pulled each other away from the village square. They came, scared to death, thinking, "Oh help!" We were so scared we could not move, and wondered, "What can we do?" They said, "What will he do to us?"

Iyna said, "They supply us with axes and everything else. Don't let others like the Laji and Bebekle people take them away from us when they come! That's ours! They brought that for us! That's ours, let's take and hide it! Let's hide everything. That's all ours (only)! That belongs to the people of Langda only. When the Laji people come, don't let them question that this is ours! So watch it, don't let them question us!" But others said, "No, that is theirs! He watches us! Watch him, he will kill us! Don't steal!" After the others said so (they saw) Yanke there sitting by himself. Yanke said, "*Bok! Bok!* Don't!"

We said, "Watch him! He will kill us! He says, 'That's mine!'" (But) Iyna said, "No friends, that's ours! Let's carry it off to Langda". He who missed the first opportunity (to receive axes) said, "Let's steal again!" He had two hearts.

(But) the people of Langda thought, "We are amazed. (All) these goods are from the white man! That stuff from the white man is prohibited."

While the people of Langda thought that, the Kerabuk people arrived. Some asked Endok in the language of the Ba valley people, "Are you somebody who comes from the Ba

valley or from the Biy valley? Where are you from?" After they asked, Endok said, "We urrrrru. Urrrrru Pass Valley. Urrrrru Pass Valley."

So they said, "Where is that? Where is Pass Valley? Where are these people from? You tell us everything! Where are you from? Where are you from?" He said, "I urrrrru. Urrrrru Pass Valley". So everybody said, "Where are they from? We don't know where Pass Valley is. These people are ghosts! The ghosts are arriving! The ghosts are arriving! These are ghosts who bring their hut along which they took apart! Ghosts!" Saying so, everybody said, "Ooh, my ancestors, this talk is unknown to us as human speech; this is a bunch of ghosts! A bunch of ghosts is arriving! These are the Ghosts of the Rotten Pig!" "What!" they said, "Are these ghosts? Then they come to devour us. And their father (that's you) is a witchdoctor!" The Langda people said, "That's a bunch of ghosts! Their father casts spells on all deceased people! When he casts spells he says (to the deceased), 'Return to life! Become ghosts!' He says, 'Get alive!'"

The Langda people said, "That's the witchdoctor called 'white man' who just arrived!" I didn't say that! We weren't adults yet, we (small kids) thought, "Is this all true, what they say?" We were scared. While I grew up I was very sick. I couldn't think straight and was pondering with a feverish mind, "Are they telling the truth?"

After they said, "They are ghosts!" I wondered, "Is that the truth?" So I came and sat down at the place where Yanke sat.

He said, "That's from the white man. The urrrrru is from the white man. Urrrrru! Don't take it along!" I was scared. I thought, "Is that a ghost? He said, 'Yes, that is sacred!'" I thought, "Watch him! He will kill all of us! Will he really kill all of us later on?"

Having thought this by myself (a fellow by the name of) Yibin came (to me) all by himself. He said, "My village is Koruppun. My son, I came from Koruppun. I am the interpreter for the village of Langda, and I come to you because I love you." After he said this, the people of Langda said, "Hey, he speaks the language of the Mekum people. That fellow is from our area! Are you helping the ghosts?" They said, "Are you (really) helping the ghosts?" He said, "I come to you my children of Langda because I love you. You say, 'Watch it, the ghosts will kill us'. But I come to you my children of Langda because I love you." He said, "My children I am your interpreter". They said, "You interpret for us!" He said, "You my children, you people of Langda, I came to interpret for you". So, the Langda people said, "That's the Koruppun language. That fellow comes as his interpreter. That fellow from one of our valleys came as his interpreter, but these are ghosts!"

Having said this, Memer said, "My fathers! Alim told us, 'Around the time of my death we will see people we never saw before walking before our eyes!' He told that in a vision just before he died. He said, 'At the time of Memer's birth it was said to our female ancestor, 'Present this firstborn son of the Malyo female ancestor.'" We, the people of Langda and the Ey valley thought for that reason, "Are these ghosts or humans which arrive? Will these ghosts devour us?"

The people of Kerabuk who had been sight-seeing in Okbab said, "This is the white man of Okbab who creates cowry shells and all kinds of other things, so we will speak to him. When we have talked with him, and he speaks the Okbab language we will keep this white man." So after they had spoken in the Okbab language they said, "We are not from Okbab. We are from Pass Valley. The urrrrru comes from Pass Valley. The urrrrru flew from Pass Valley (to) Langda."

Then they said, "You came with the urrrrru to Langda. Where are you from?" They said, "Urrrrru comes from Pass Valley. The urrrrru went to Langda. The urrrrru flew from Pass Valley to Langda." Then they said, "Ey! These people come from Pass Valley and one fellow is from Koruppun. So these people come from Koruppun and Pass Valley, let's get them sweet potatoes!" They said, "Let our people get tobacco and let's welcome them as people belonging to us! We first thought that they were ghosts, but they are humans."

"Let's get tobacco! Everybody from Wasumuji, Laji and Kerabuk you all get your tobacco! Let's welcome them!" So, having said that, they loaded their stringbags with sweet potatoes and bananas, and carrying the tobacco said, "Let's lay down this tobacco for the Pass Valley people here, and the sweet potatoes there at the Siyl Tong Dancing Place."

That's the end of that story. The story which I told you was the story about the airplane and helicopters.

That's it.

NOTES

1. This study was originally presented to the faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Texas at Arlington for acceptance in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the M.A. degree in Linguistics in 1983. The data presented in the original manuscript has been revised and updated significantly to represent the results of continuing investigation into the Una language and culture.
2. This analysis draws on several different sources of data. Probably the most important source is familiarity and fluency gained by constant use of the Central Ey River Valley Una dialect and familiarity with the three other Una dialects during most of my eleven years of residence in the area. The second is an extensive lexical file (Louwerse 1985c) mainly of the previously mentioned dialect, with notations of each of the other dialects, together with a body of verb paradigms and some language learning materials, all collected or prepared in the course of my linguistic investigations and missionary service. This work has benefited from several computer printouts, namely word concordances of Una text materials and an alphabetisation and revisal of the lexicon on Datapoint and Digital DEC VT-123 computers. I am indebted to the Summer Institute of Linguistics computer program manager Mr Maarten te Hennepe in Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea for this extensive work. The narrower base for the study is a collection of transcribed recorded texts, including folk tales, myths, expositions of local cultural activities and narratives of events both recent and long ago. In general, every major point in the description rests on data included in the filed corpus.
3. As a convention the category 'third person singular' is glossed by 'he/him/his/she/her/it' but the category has no gender specification and is to be understood as referring to a person and number category only, irrespective of sex.
4. [ɾ] and [ɾ̃] are allophonic variants of /d/, but in the practical orthography aimed at Una people who will be learning to read Indonesian, the separate representation of 'r' in intervocalic and final position is felt to be justified.
5. Personal communication August, 1980.
6. The correct meaning of *teleb*, which can be either 'to be content with' or just the opposite 'to want', has to be decided from its context.
7. Grouping of verbs into intransitive, transitive and bi-transitive verb class formulae is not too revealing. Sometimes one or two tagmemes of the string of nine tagmemes, viz., the optional Vc and U/Sc/Ben tagmemes, can be omitted.

8. Trichotomy is a common feature reflected in Una linguistic and cultural organisation, cf. Louwerse 1985a:7-22 and 1985b.
9. The plural of *neybnyi* 'daughter' and *miy* 'son' form the only exception upon this pluralisation rule. Instead of [[neybnyiyabwa]] the plural of *neybnyi* becomes *nermabwa* lit. 'female children/daughters'; and instead of [[miyyabwa]] the plural of *miy* becomes *mabwa* 'sons'.
10. These two nouns are joined under one main stress; however, this plural form is considered to be two separate nouns according to the principle of isolatibility as a criterion for word division (Pike and Pike 1982:98).
11. Suprasegmental notation will be used only in the description of the pronoun classes to show the distinction between second and third person plural markers. Elsewhere tone will not be marked on these pronouns since the person and number will be apparent from the verb inflection.
12. One speaker may use a different locational deictic to another speaker for exactly the same location, or for an object at the identical location indicating a different view as to the location of the object in relation to the speaker.
13. This is not a contradiction in terms but *malyi* can have both meanings. The actual meaning of the word depends on the context in which it appears.
14. The nonpolar interrogative (*una*) is considered to be a free morpheme according to the principle of isolatability as a criterion for word division (Pike and Pike 1982:98). However, there are some cases of (*una*) bound to a suffix: *unanyi* 'who', *unutowa* 'why', *unubaji* 'how much' etc., because the last morpheme does not exist as a free morpheme.
15. op.cit., Pike and Pike 1982:50, 51.
16. For a description of the noun phrase close-knit-modification margin constituents cf. 4.2.1.
17. For a description of the noun phrase restriction margin constituents cf. 4.2.3.
18. For a description of the noun phrase quality margin constituents cf. 4.2.4.
19. For a description of an embedded locational phrase in a noun phrase close-knit-modification margin cf. 4.2.2.
20. No locative exists in Una describing a remote position located on the speakers side of a declivity due to the rugged terrain with declivities always relatively near. Therefore, *ótam* 'near (across a declivity)' could also be interpreted as 'relatively remote' and *átam* 'remote (across a declivity)' as 'far away'.
21. An anomaly occurs in the last example where the verb can be deleted in normal speech. However, this is very unusual. Usually a verb precedes the nucleus of the noun phrase.
22. The use of this conjunction is restricted to the Sayn River Valley Dialect.

23. The unmarked location of an interrogative word is in the nucleus-as-predicate position.
24. The verb *bin-* 'go' already implies that the movement is away from the narrator towards the goal.
25. This cannot mean: 'In/at the airplane'; in that case the enclosure would have been mentioned explicitly; e.g. *ururu mundu aji* lit. 'in the belly of the airplane' or *ururu ay umbura* lit. 'in the inside of the noisy hut'.
26. This sentence can also mean: 'You threw these people to death at/on the rocks'.
27. In order to avoid sentences of disproportionate length, when the medial-final chain is equated with the sentence, I have chosen to call the sub-units of the paragraph which show detectable phonological features of segmentation a 'sentence'. However, I am aware of the fact that there are other analytical possibilities which certainly are valid regarding the description of paragraphs, clauses, and sentences of Papua New Guinean/Irian Jaya 'clause-chaining' languages (Louwerse 1982f). Una, as one of these languages, has chains of clauses with one, and only one clause – usually the last – containing a distinct verb. We can, however, safely say that clauses occur within sentences, paragraphs, and discourse, and that they are chunks of different sizes.
28. A primary predication is a verb which can have the full range of tense, aspect, mode, voice, subject person and number, and object marking inflection. This is in contrast to a secondary predication which lacks this range of inflection (cf. 8-3.1.4-5).
29. *ton* can have two distinct meanings: 'one' or exclusively sentence initially: 'then/so' and the exact meaning has to be derived from the context in which *ton* occurs.
30. *tuan* is an honorary term used for expatriate men in Indonesian society meaning '(the white) gentleman/Mr/sir'.
31. Sentence 64 and sentence 66 could each be interpreted as two separate sentences in which sentence-bound distinctive tonal features were lumped. The sentence boundaries would then be respectively between *yanmarey ... asiy*, and *yanmow ... asiy*.
32. Sentence 134 *ibid.* with sentence boundary between *beja ... urrrrrru*. They were bound together due to excitement related high speech rate in which sentence-bound distinctive tonal features were lumped.

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